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V.S. Bhargava

Marwar and the Mughal Emperors

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Marwar
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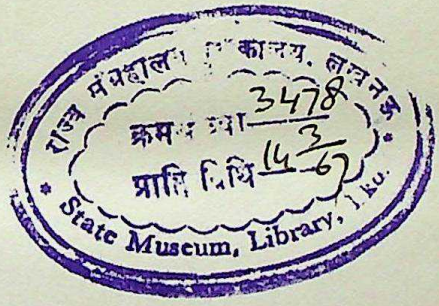
MARWAR
and
THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

(A.D. 1526-1748)

by

Visheshwar Sarup Bhargava, M.A., PH. D.,

RAJASTHAN STATE EDUCATION SERVICE



Munshiram Manoharlal

ORIENTAL PUBLISHERS & BOOKSELLERS

NAI SARAK, DELHI-6

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First Edition : February 1966

Thesis approved for the degree of
Ph. D. in the University of Rajasthan

954.02
B M

Price :
RUPEES FIFTEEN

PUBLISHED BY MUNSHIRAM MANOHARLAL, NAI SARAK, DELHI-6,
AND PRINTED AT NATIONAL OFFSET WORKS, DELHI.

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Dedicated to

My Guru

Maharaj Kumar
Dr. Raghubir Singhji of Sitamau,
M. A., LL. B., D. LITT.

My Father

Pt. Bishan Sarupji Bhargava,
B. A., LL. B.
(Retired Addl. Sessions Judge),
Advocate, Jaipur.

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DR. V. S. BHARGAVA's book *Marwar and the Mughal Emperors* is a valuable addition to the historical literature of the land of heroic Rathors. Dr. Bhargava has for the first time utilised Persian and Rajasthani sources, published or unpublished, some of which were not utilised by the earlier historians of Marwar. I am happy to note that Dr. Bhargava has exploded many myths and legends attached to the history of the former Jodhpur State.

Dewan Bahadur
M. RAJADHIRAJ AJIT SINGH,
Ex-Prime Minister,
Former Jodhpur State.

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Foreword

RAJASTHAN is a paradise for historians. In the first place, there is considerable scope for building up an authentic narrative of social, political and military developments of this region and its many parts. It will form a most interesting part of Indian history. Moreover, there lies scattered all over the state rich and abundant material from which readable monographs could be produced on various subjects. It is found in the possession of temples, Thikanedars, some old families of merchants, and in the archives of the various states of Rajasthan which have now been integrated into a single unit. Many able and competent scholars can work for many many years and still may not be able to exhaust this deep historical mine of wealth.

2. It is up to the Universities or historical and academic bodies to undertake large-scale study and research of Rajasthani history and culture. Although rather meagre, this process has already commenced and its importance is being increasingly recognised.

3. In order to pursue this excellent objective the University of Rajasthan with the blessings and financial assistance of the University Grants Commission has recently set up a centre for research in the history of Rajasthan. The project will be undertaken by the University Department of History with Dr. Satish Chandra as its leader. Let us hope that this scheme will attract many scholars to this fascinating task and in due course valuable studies will be published on the social and political history of Rajasthan. And eventually a proper chronicle of this region will be built up.

4. During my term as Vice-Chancellor of this University I have come across many attempts on the part of young Research scholars and University teachers in this direction. Dr. V. S. Bhargava is one of them. He has taken great pains in the study of Marwar (the region which comprised old Jodhpur State, in the period 1526 to 1748, that is, the times of the Mughal Emperors). Dr. Bhargava's work is commendable. He has worked hard to produce a very readable monograph on the relations of Marwar with the Mughal Emperors. He has tapped varied and different sources, some of them new and unpublished, with the result that his book will demo-

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lish some old opinions, and also illumine some dark patches in the history of Marwar State during this period. In many respects Dr. Bhargava's book will bring to light a few new and important facts and help in the reinterpretation of some old events. It will be noticed that he has examined Rajasthani and Persian sources. Here and there references are made to Sanskrit writings also. He has made use of the Brijlal Pancholi Manuscript which has been brought to the notice of the historians for the first time. This was a diary maintained by one of the courtiers of Maharaja Jaswant Singh I and appears to be a storehouse of information on contemporary events.

Dr. Bhargava's thesis is a fine piece of historical research which brings credit not only to himself but also to this University. It is a good example of devoted scholarship and historical sense. These traits deserve to be appreciated and encouraged. I should also like to compliment Dr. Bhargava on his language which is simple and direct. I trust he will continue his labours in this direction and write more books on different aspects and themes of the history of Rajasthan. His book should stimulate further thinking and research by other scholars in the social, cultural and political aspects of Rajasthani history from ancient times.

Dr. Bhargava's book, for which he has been awarded the degree of PH. D. in this University, deserves to be widely read and appreciated.

MOHAN SINGH MEHTA,
M.A., PH. D., BAR-AT-LAW,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Rajasthan.

Jaipur
20 May 1965

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Preface

THE HISTORY OF THE RELATIONS between Marwar (erstwhile Rathor State of Jodhpur) and the first ten Mughal Emperors (A. D. 1526-1748) is a fascinating theme, but no connected account of the subject has so far been attempted. Modern works on the history of this region are mostly based on Persian sources or the same have been almost wholly ignored and only the Rajasthani sources have been utilised. In the present work an attempt has been made to utilise all available Rajasthani and Persian sources, published or unpublished, some of which have not yet been fully examined. An effort has been made to reconcile the two different sets of primary sources with a view to present a balanced view of the part played by the Rathor Rulers of Marwar during the rise and fall of the Mughal Empire.

I would like to express my grateful thanks to the authorities of Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur ; Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur ; Saraswati Bhawan Manuscript Library, Udaipur ; Aminuddaula Public Library Lucknow ; Azad Library, Muslim University, Aligarh ; Archives Office, Jodhpur and Bikaner. I feel very much obliged to the Directors of Archives, Government of Rajasthan, Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma and Prof. N. R. Khadgawat, for their help during my visits to various places of Rajasthan State Archives at Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner. I am particularly indebted to Maharaj Kumar of Sitamau, Dr. Raghubir Singhji, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT., who has not only extended to me all possible facilities to utilise the vast material brought together in his personal collection 'Shree Raghubir Library' at Sitamau, but has also guided me in my research study. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to my teacher Dr. G. N. Sharma, Reader in History, Rajasthan University, Jaipur, who was my supervisor during the period of my research study. But for Principal V. V. John (now Director of College Education, Rajasthan) the thesis could hardly have been submitted in July 1960. He has always been kind, sympathetic and helpful to those who are seriously and sincerely devoted to advanced studies and research. Among those whose valued help I must acknowledge are Dr. Satish Chandra, Professor of History in the Rajasthan

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University, Dr. S. Nurul Hasan, Dr. P. Saran and Dr. A. L. Srivastava for their suggestions for the improvement of this work. Dr. Satish Chandra allowed me to consult the manuscript *Balmukundnama* and his English translation of it which was then only under preparation. I must also render thanks to my friends Messrs. H. S. Hiran, B.L., Deopura, G. P. Sharma, R. S. Rathore, Bhanwar Lal Sarraf and Kazi Karametullah of Sitamau. Finally and above all, I must record my sense of obligation to my former students Krishna Murari Sharma M.A., Radha Kant Mishra M.A., Miss Sundri Sharma M.A. (F), and Miss Lakshmi Bhargava, B.A. Prabhakar, for all they have been to me, an obligation too deep for elaboration. I am also thankful to Shri M.L. Jain, Proprietor of the publishing firm Messrs Munshi Ram Manohar Lal of Delhi and Mr. Dixit, Manager, National Offset Works, Daryaganj Delhi, where the work has been printed.

Rajadhiraj Maharaj Ajit Singhji Sahib of Jodhpur and his worthy son Rajkumar Sarup Singhji, B.A., Member. Legislative Assembly, Looni, Rajasthan, deserve my most grateful thanks for the help they have rendered.

The preparation and publication of this work would not have been possible without the sacrifice of my wife 'S', our three children Prahlad, Nilima and Raghuraj and my worthy parents Pandit Bishan Sarup Bhargava, retired Senior Civil and Additional Sessions Judge, Rajasthan, and Shrimati Asharfi Devi.

Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, Vice-Chancellor, Rajasthan University, in consenting to introduce this book to the public, has conferred a great favour on the author which he wishes to acknowledge gratefully. It is no small satisfaction for a young author like me that his efforts should be appreciated by others, and words of commendation fall from men of eminence, erudition and judgment.

The Rajasthan University has sanctioned as grant-in-aid towards the publication of this work a sum of Rs. 1,000 for which the author feels obliged.

V. S. BHARGAVA

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CHAPTER ONE

Marwar on the Eve of Muslim Conquest of India

RAJASTHAN[1] is the name of that State in the Republic of India which has been the traditional abode of Rajputs for more than seven centuries. It is rhombus in shape with slightly irregular sides. The State of Rajasthan, however, comprises a much larger area[2] than what was included in the Mughal Suba of Ajmer during Akbar's reign.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D. the whole of this region was divided into many independent principalities many of which were under Rajput rulers. Thus on the eve of the Mughal conquest of India Marwar was being ruled by Rathors, while to its South-East was the State of Mewar under the rule of Sisodiya Ranas. To the South of Mewar was the Bagad State[3] under Guhilot rulers. A

1. Rajasthan or Rajputana is only a modern name given to this tract of land by Col. Tod sometime in the beginning of the nineteenth century when it came under the British domination. *vide*, Tod., I, p. 1; Gahlot, I, p. 2.
2. The modern State of Rajasthan includes the following regions which were then not within the Suba of Ajmer:
   (*a*) Eastern half of Banswada District; Sub-division of Pratapgarh and district of Jhalawar were then in the Malwa Suba.
   (*b*) Alwar, Bharatpur and Hindaun were in the Suba of Agra.
   (*c*) Jhunjhunu and the tehsil Shahbad in Kota district were then not included in the Suba of Ajmer, *vide*, *Ain.*, II, p. 109.
3. Nensi, I, p. 70; Maharajkumar, pp. 21-22. It was later to be divided into two separate States of Dungarpur and Banswada.

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branch of the Rathors of Marwar ruled Bikaner, over the Jangal-Desh, situated in the North of Marwar while to its West lay the Bhatti State of Jaisalmer. Farther away in the North-East was the Kachchwah principality of Amber, while between them were the two small semi-independent principalities of Merta and Nagore[1] then ruled by the descendants of Duda Rathor and Firoz Khan Pathan respectively. The province, though mainly populated by the Hindus, had a strong Muslim domination over Nagore. Two families of scholars that figured prominently during the reign of Akbar came from Rajasthan. They were the family of Shaikh Mubarak called Shaikh Mubarak Nagori and the other that of the historian Abdul Qadir Badaoni who belonged to Bhusawar.

This entire tract of land was never, even once during the few centuries preceding the Mughal conquest of India, under the domination of any single ruler, nor was it ever organised as one political unit. It lacked every sort of unity and was not even known by any single common name. Hence, this entire region when comprised into a Suba under Akbar was named as the Suba of Ajmer after its Capital. Marwar State was one of the many independent States in this region and covered an extensive area in the south-western portion of the Indian desert.

Marwar is so-called from very early times, most probably because of the sandy deserts that mainly comprise it. In *Bhagavata*[2] it has been called 'Marudhanva'. Bhartrihari[3] named it as 'Marusthal'. In Dabhoi inscription[4] of the V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1254) it has been referred to by the term 'Maru'. Thus in course of time 'Marusthal' or 'Maruwar' came to be known as 'Marwar'.[5]

1. Nagore was one of the first places in Rajasthan to fall under the Muslim rule and it remained under the Muslims almost invariably till A.D. 1537.
2. *Bhagavata*, Chapter X, part I, verse 35.
3. Bhartrihari, *Nitisataka*, verse 49.
4. *EI*, I, p. 23.
5. *Administration Report*, p. 5. Scholars greatly differ as to the exact origin of this word Marwar. The modern historians of Marwar like Reu and Asopa are of the opinion that 'Maru' and 'Mada' were the two places in the eastern part of Jaisalmer. In course of time 'Mada' came to be known as 'Wada' and the two together came to be known as 'Maruwad'. Thus 'Maruwad' ultimately became 'Marwar'. *vide*, Reu, I, p. 1, f.n.i; Asopa, p. 1

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The country, as its name 'Marwar' implies, is sterile and sandy. It is mainly a dreary desert covered with sand hills. There is, therefore, the consequent scarcity of water throughout the region. There are no perennial rivers and the two important ones Katli on the North and Luni in the South of Jodhpur depend on periodical rains. Half of the produce of the country, so far as cereals are concerned, depend on Luni. The wells are very few and their water, found at great depth, is generally used for drinking purposes only. To make good this deficiency of water in Marwar to a considerable extent every effort is made there to collect all available rain water in tanks specially constructed for this purpose in almost every house. Due to lack of any irrigation facilities Marwar has only one crop, that is, 'Bajra', during the year. Consequently, this region is liable to frequent serious droughts when on the very first failure of rains the inhabitants begin to migrate with their cattle to the fertile and green plains of Malwa. Thus, famine in Marwar is not only a misery to its inhabitants but also a scourge to the neighbouring countries where they migrate.[1]

The climate is, therefore, dry even during the monsoon, and there are extreme variations of temperature even during the winter season. During the summer it is very hot, and strong, scorching winds result in severe sand storms quite frequently.[2]

Naturally there are no forests in Marwar but there are good pasture lands which encourage the inhabitants to breed cattle and specially sheep. Marwari horse of Balotra and Nagori bullocks have been well known throughout India for many centuries.[3]

The inhabitants of Marwar are generaly tall, well-built, stout and sturdy. Nature has made them hardworking also, and many have left the land of their birth to seek better fortunes elsewhere.

The language spoken by the common men in this region may now be described as the Marwari[4], a variation of the Rajasthani. But the language for literary purposes and literature has generally

1. *Administration Report*, pp. 5-6 and pp. 10-11; *A Glimpse into the History and Administration of the Jodhpur State*, p. 9; *Marwar Gaz.*, p. 6; *Imp. Gaz.*, p. 172.
2. *Marwar Gaz.*, pp. 6-7.
3. *Administration Report of Marwar for the Year* A. D. *1883*, pp. 12-13.
4. *Administration Report*, p. 19; *Raj. Gaz.*, III-A, p. 82.

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been the Dingal which has extensive literature and is equally rich in prose and poetry.

This inhospitable region of Marwar became the traditional home of the Rathor Rajputs sometime during the early decades of the thirteenth century when they migrated to this region under the leadership of Siha[1], who by his continued efforts established his own authority there.

At that time Marwar was divided into many small principalities ruled over by the Chauhans[2], the Mohels[3] and the Gohels.[4] These harassed the Pallival Brahmins of Pali[5] who consequently sought the protection of Siha against them all.[6]

The beginning of the Rathor State of Marwar almost coincided with the accession of slave Sultan Shamsu-d-din Iltutmish on the throne of Delhi.[7]

After having lived for more than half a century in the region of Pali doing his utmost to consolidate his footing there Siha died[8]

1. MS. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 14; MS. *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 22; *IA*, III, pp. 42-43; Tod, II, p. 940; Reu, I, p. 37; Asopa, p. 64; and H. C. Roy, I, p. 552. The so-called Rathor migration from Kanauj is based on tradition. Modern writers dwell on its improbability (*vide*, R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 293-300; Roma Niyogi, *History of the Gahadwal Dynasty*, II, pp. 29-38; Dr. Altekar's *Rashtrakutas and their Times*)
2. *EI*, XI, p. 78; XXI, pp. 26-48; Dr. Dashrath Sharma has given a detailed account of these Chauhan rulers in his thesis *Early Chauhan Dynasties* (1959).
3. Tod, II, p. 941.
4. *IA*, III, p. 42; Reu, I, p. 38.
5. MS. *Bahi*, f. 13(a); *Jodhpur Khyat* I, p. 14; *Vir Vinod*, p. 799; Ojha, I, p. 156.
   Pali was then an important centre of trade and commerce. Probably it had commercial relations with Persia and Arabia. (*Administration Report*, p. 22; Reu, I, p. 38; Asopa, p. 64). According to Kaviraja's *Khyat*, II, p. 22, the Pallivals sought Siha's help against the Balecha Chauhans and thus Siha settled down in the land round about Pali on the request of Jasodhar, a Pallival Brahmin, who was most probably the leader of the community.
6. Reu, *History of the Rashtrakutas*, pp. 134-43.
7. According to modern historians Siha came to Marwar in the year A.D. 1212 (Tod, II, p. 940; Reu, I, p. 32; Asopa, p. 58; Banerjee, *Medieval Studies*, p. 40).
8. According to the Bithu inscription on the Chhatri, Siha died on Monday, Kartika Krishna 12, V.S. 1330 (9th October, A.D. 1273).

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a warrior's death while fighting against the forces of Islam coming down from Sindh.[1]

Siha was succeeded by his son Asthan who extended his possessions by conquering Khergarh[2], which became the first capital of Rathors in Marwar, and Idar[3], which was later assigned by him to his younger brother, Sonig. During his life-time Sultan Jalal-ud-din Khilji of Delhi led an expedition against the Parihars of Mandor[4] and conquered it, which brought the Muslim Sultans of Delhi very near Asthan's principality. The invasion of the Khilji Sultan at least blocked the Rathor expansion in Marwar towards East and North-East.

Rao Dhuhad, the son and successor of Asthan, tried to extend the boundaries of his principality, but the same proved to be shortlived and had to be repeated by his son, Raipal, when he succeeded to the 'gadi'.[5] In the meantime the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi under Ala-ud-din Khilji was pushing its boundaries much nearer to this Rathor principality.

In A.D. 1308 Ala-ud-din Khilji led an expedition against Siwana[6]

1. According to *Beg-lar-Nama* (p. 43) and *Tuhfatu-l-Kiram* (pp. 91-92) they were Sindhi Mussalmans (Reu, I, p. 39; Asopa, p. 65).

2. Nagar Inscription of A.D. 1629; *Bahi*, f. 13A; *Nensi Khyat*, II, pp. 56-57; *Masthir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 914; *Vir Vinod*, p. 799 and Asopa, p. 67.

3. Bahi, f. 13A; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 17 and 18. *Vir Vinod*, p. 799; Tod, II, p. 943; *Bom. Gaz.*, IX, part I, p. 128; Ojha, I, p. 161; Reu, I, p. 43; Asopa, p. 68.
Descendants of Sonig continued to rule over Idar till about the year A.D. 1718 (*Bom. Gaz.*, IX, Part I, p. 128).

4. Some modern scholars have expressed the view that Jalal-ud-din Khilji (A.D. 1290-96) undertook an expedition against the Parihars of Mandor and occupied it for some time.
Jalal-ud-din Firoz Shah Khilji by Shaikh Abdul Rashid (Aligarh), p. 11; Lal, p. 38.
The *Khyats* too confirm that Asthan died a heroic death fighting against Jalal-ud-din Khilji near Pali (*Bahi*, f. 13 (*b*); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 19). Mandor is about 6 m. North of Jodhpur.

5. Dhuhad attacked Thirpal, the Parihar ruler of Mandor and occupied the capital of Parihar for sometime. Similarly, he took Barmer together with its 560 neighbouring villages (*Bankidass Khyat*, p. 3; Tod, II, p. 943; *Vir Vinod*, p. 800; Reu, I, p. 47; Asopa, p. 73 and Banerjee, p. 41).

6. Siwana was conquered by Ala-ud-din Khilji from Sital Dev, the Parmar Chief, on the 10th Nov., 1308 (*Khazain*, pp. 74-78; Briggs, I, p. 370; 'Mubarakshahi', p. 78; Lal, pp. 134-35). Siwana is about 60 m. South-West of Jodhpur. The conquest of Siwana was followed by an attack on Kanhar De, the ruler of Jalor.

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and conquered the fort. The Khilji Sultan, however, did not proceed against Dhuhad whose domains now included Pachpadra[1] also which is only 24 miles North-West of Siwana.

When Raipal succeeded his father Rao Dhuhad, he began the struggle for the conquest of Mandor[2], which was later to become the second capital of the Rathors in Marwar. Raipal thus continued his efforts to extend its boundaries in this region by successfully attacking Kanhad De and conquering his stronghold, the fort of Jalore.[3] The conquests of Siwana and Jalor by Ala-ud-din Khilji definitely checked the possibilities of the Rathor expansion in that direction, and made the descendants of Sonig at Idar virtually independent of the Ruler of Marwar.

Raipal had thirteen sons, whose progeny spread over the entire Marwar in due course of time and thus ensured the Rathor domination over it.[4]

There is a great divergence of opinion among the authorities[5] about the actual names and number of rulers of this Rathor principality

1. Dhuhad died at a place between Thob and Tirsingari in the present Pachpadra Tehsil in A.D. 1309 (The Tirsingari Inscription—*IA*, XXXX, p. 301).

2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 20; *Bahi*, f. 14(*a*); *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 90; Tod, II, p. 943; *Vir Vinod*, p. 803; Ojha, I, p. 170; Reu, I, p. 48 and Asopa, p. 74.

   Modern historians have concluded on the basis of Pandua inscription of the year A.D. 1301 that Ala-ud-din's suzerainty over Mandor was accepted. The inscription mentions "Alavadi of Joginipura as the ruling king of Mandor" who according to modern historians was Ala-ud-din Khilji.—*Arch. Sur. Rep. 1909-10*, p. 131; Tod, I, p. 312; and Lal, p. 139.

3. *Kanhadade Prabandha* by Padmanabha; Briggs, I, pp. 370-71; *Nensi Khyat*, I, p. 158; Dashrath Sharma, p. 167 and Lal, p. 138. Jalor (about 75 m. South of Jodhpur) was conquered by Ala-ud-din Khilji in A.D. 1311.

4. Tod, II, p. 943.

5. Raipal, Kanha (Kanhapal), Jalhan (Jalansi), Chhada and Tida follow one after another in each of the various lists. There is, however, much confusion about the persons, who succeeded Tida. Salkha or Kanhad De, Tribhuvaransi and Millinath seem to follow Tida in varying order in the different lists. All these, however, conclude with the name of Biramdeo (*Nensi Khyat*, *Bahi*, *Jodhpur Khyat*, *Dayaldass Khyat* and *Bankidass Khyat*). The genealogy of the *Khyats* has been accepted, with slight variations, by all modern historians of Marwar (Tod, *Vir Vinod*, Ojha, Reu and Asopa). The dates given in the *Khyats* are 'demonstrably inaccurate'. Hence, it is not easy to make out a connected history of the Rathor Rulers of Marwar who ruled from A.D. 1309 to 1383). A comparative chart of the rulers deduced from various authorities has been provided in Appendix I.

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between Raipal and Biramdeo who died in the year A.D. 1383 and was succeeded by his son, Rao Chunda. During this period the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi continued to be sufficiently strong and powerful so as to make it almost impossible for the Rathor Rulers to think of any expansion in the direction of Mandor, Siwana or Jalor. There were, however, constant frictions between the Rathors of Marwar and the Bhattis of Jaisalmer who were their immediate neighbours in the North-West and quite a few Rathor Rulers like Kanha and Jalansi met their end in battles.[1]

With the accession of Chunda as the ruler of Marwar in about A.D. 1383[2] the history of this Rathor principality enters a new phase of increasing expansion of its domain, which was made possible due to weak successors of Firoz Tughluq as the Sultans of Delhi.

'Hitherto they (the Rathors),' says Tod, 'had attracted notice by their valour and their raids, whenever there was a prospect of success; but they had so multiplied in eleven generations that they now essayed a higher flight.'[3] Chunda's career opens with varied conquests of great significance and thus he finally brought under his rule all the territories round about Mandor[4] and Nagor.[5] He also subdued Khatu, Didwana, Sambhar and Ajmer all of which were then under the Muslim Rule[6], and wrested Nadol from the Chauhans.[7]

1. Kanha was killed in an encounter by the Bhatti Rulers of Jaisalmer (*Bankidass Khyat*, p. 4; Reu, I, p. 49; Asopa, p. 76 ; Banerjee, *JIH* (1951), p. 317).—Jalansi died fighting against the combined forces of Bhattis and Muslims of Sind. *Bahi*, f. 14(*b*); *Vir Vinod*, p. 801; *Dayaldass Khyat* I, p. 91; Reu, I, p. 51 and Asopa, p. 77.

2. Biram died in the year A.D. 1383 fighting against the Johyas in a village (Lakhbara) near Gajner in Bikaner, *vide*, The Gajner Inscription of the year A.D. 1383; *Vir Vinod*, p. 802.

3. Tod, II, p. 944.

4. *Bahi*, f. 16(*b*); Nensi, II, p. 89; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 29; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 30; *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 124; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 6; *Vir Vinod*, p. 803.

5. *Bahi*, f. 17(*a*); Nensi, II, p. 90; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 29; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 31; *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 124; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 6; *Vir Vinod*, p. 803. All the modern historians of Marwar (Tod, Ojha, Reu and Asopa) have mentioned Chunda's conquests of Mandor and Nagor.

6. *Bahi*, f. 17(*b*); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 31; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 29; Reu, I, p. 63; Asopa, p. 89.

7. Tod, II, p. 944; Reu, I, p. 64. Nadol is situated in 25° 22′ N. and 73° 27′ E. about 8 m. from Jawali Railway Station.

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Thus, Rao Chunda consolidated the principality of Marwar by bringing under his rule the scattered territories and making his domain compact. Chunda was, however, treacherously murdered in A.D. 1423 by his Bhatti and Sankhala allies when he was opposing the forces of Salim Khan of Multan.[1]

Rao Chunda was succeeded in turn by two of his younger sons, Kanha and Satta, who proved to be weak rulers and Nagore was once again lost to the Muslims.[2] Finally in A.D. 1427 Chunda's eldest son Ranmall overthrew Satta and became the ruler of Marwar. With the help of the Mewar forces he again conquered Nagore.[3] He wrested Nadol[4] from the Songara Chauhans, Jaiteran[5] from the Sindhals, Sojat[6] from the Huls, and inflicted a defeat on Hasan Khan Pathan of Jalor.[7]

But when he went to Chitore to assist his nephew's son, Kumbha, he was assassinated there in A.D. 1438.[8] Ranmall thus not only extended the boundaries of the Rathor principality but taking advantage of the weak role of Sayyid Sultans of Delhi he greatly strengthened it also.

But after the assassination of Ranmall, when his well-known son

1. *Bahi*, f. 17(b); Nensi (A), I, p. 353; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 32 ; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 32; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 6; *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 136; *Vir Vinod*, p. 803; Reu, I, p. 64; Asopa, p. 94.

   According to *Beg-lar-hama* the Muslims of Sindh were on friendly terms with Bhattis of Jaisalmer. Therefore, it is possible that the Muslim Governor of Multan might have sent a force to help the Bhattis, against Chunda, under the leadership of Salim Khan (p. 45).

2. *Kayamkhan Rasa*, p. 24 (verse 281 to 285) ; *Nensi Khyat*, II, p. 106, footnote; Tod, II, p. 945; Reu, I, p. 68; Asopa, p, 99.

3. *Bahi*, f. 18(a); *Kanyamkhan Rasa*, p. 29, verse 340 to 370; Reu, I, p. 74; Asopa, pp. 100-101; Sarda, *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 25.

4. Nensi (A), I, p. 154 and II, p. 115; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 7; *Vir Vinod*, p. 805; Reu, I, p. 73.

5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 36; Reu, I, p. 73. Jaitaran is situated in 26° 13′ N. and 73° 57′ E. about 65 m. East of Jodhpur and 14 m. North West of Barr Rly. Station. *Raj. Gaz.*, III-A, p. 186.

6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 36; Reu. I, p. 73. Sojat is situated in 25° 56′ N. and 73° 40′ E. and is about 7 m. North-West of Sojat Road Rly. Station.—*Imp. Gaz.*, p. 206.

7. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 36; *Tarikh-i-Palampur*, I, pp. 5-6; Reu, I, p. 75.

8. Nensi (A), I, p. 17; *Bahi*, f. 18(*b*); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 36; *Vir Vinod*, p. 805; Tod, II, p. 946; Ojha, I, p. 225; Reu, I, p. 78; Asopa, p. 102; Sarda, p. 64.

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Jodha, the founder of the famous city of Jodhpur, escaped from Chitore and returned to Marwar, he had to flee for his life and Marwar was occupied by the Mewar forces.[1]

During the fifteen years' exile Jodha slowly but steadily gathered strength and organised his forces and finally drove away the Mewar forces from Marwar in A.D. 1453.[2] Six years later he laid the foundation of the fort and city of Jodhpur[3], which was named after himself.

According to Gosundi Inscription Jodha went on a pilgrimage to Kashi and Gaya in V.S. 1561 (A.D. 1504) when he is said to have persuaded Husain Shah of Sharqi dynasty, the ruler of Jaunpur, to repeal the pilgrim tax.[4]

Jodha's younger sons Barsing and Duda annexed Merta and its neighbouring 360 villages in the year A.D. 1461 which were then under the Muslim governor of Ajmer.[5]

Jodha also annexed Chhapar-Dronpur[6] and recaptured

1. Nensi (A), I, p. 17; *Bahi*, f. 20 (*b*) and 21(*a*); *Mewar-ka-Itihas*, f. 106(*a*); *Vir Vinod*, p. 322; Ojha, I, p. 236; Reu, I, p. 84; Asopa, p. 103; Sarda, p. 68.

2. *Bahi*, f. 21(*a*) and (*b*); Nensi, II, pp. 128-31; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 42 and 45; *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 179; Tod, II, p. 947; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 323-24; Ojha, I, p. 237; Reu, I, pp. 88-91; Asopa, p. 107; Sarda, p. 76.

3. Foundation of the fort of Jodhpur was laid by Jodha on Saturday, the 12th of May, A.D. 1459 six miles South of Mandor.
Bahi, 23 (*a*); Nensi, II, p. 131; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 46; *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 181; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 8; *Vir Vinod*, p. 806; Tod, II, p. 947 Ojha, I, p. 241; Reu, I, p. 92; Asopa, p. 109.
Jodhpur is situated in 26° 18′ N. and 73° E.
"The Fort (of Jodhpur) which is the finest in Rajputana, commands the city and, standing in great magnificence on an isolated rock about 400 feet above the surrounding plain, attracts the eye from afar."—*Imp. Gaz.*, p. 197.

4. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 56, part I, No. 2, for the year 1887.

5. *Bahi*, f. 24 (*a*); *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 44; *Jayamal Vansh Prakash*, p. 60; *Chaturkulcharitra*, p. 16; Tod, II, p. 950; Ojha, I, pp. 253-54; Reu, I, p. 95; Asopa, p. 109.

6. *Bahi*, f. 25(*a*); *Dayaldass Khyat*, I, p. 187; Ojha, I, p. 247; Reu, I, p. 97; Asopa, p. 111.
Chhapar-Dronpur is 4 m. N. of Chhapar Railway Station, which is on the Northern Railway between Ratangarh Junction and Sujangarh.

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Nagore.[1] Rana Udaisingh of Mewar gave him Ajmer and Sambhar to keep him away, 'from meddling in the internal affairs of Mewar'.[2]

Jodha had fourteen sons and many of them, even during their father's life-time, carved out independent principalities of their own partly out of the Muslim domains surrounding the Rathor kingdom. Thus, Barsingh and Duda established the principality of Merta, after which town their descendants came to be known as 'Mertia Rathors'. Similarly, Bika founded the state of Bikaner[3], which was to become an independent state in years to come.

Thus, at the time of Jodha's death in A.D. 1489 the Rathor State of Marwar comprised of Mandor, Sojat, a portion of Godwad, Shiv, Siwana, Sambhar, Ajmer and a large portion of Nagore.[4]

Jodha was succeeded in turn by two of his sons, Satal and Suja, whose time was greatly taken up by internal strifes. The Sindhals[5],

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 46; *Kayamkhan Rasa*, p. 30; Reu, I, p. 99; Asopa, pp. 110-11.
   Nagore was conquered by Rana Kumbha of Mewar in the year 1455 (*Mirati-i-Sikandari*, p. 62; *Vir Vinod*, p. 328; Kirtistambh Inscription of Chitore as quoted by Ojha in his *Udaipur-Rajya-ka Itihas*, Vol. I, pp. 302-303, also mentions Kumbha's Conquest of Nagore from Shamsh Khan, the Governor of Nagore, who owed allegiance to Sultan Qutub-ud-din of Gujrat. Henceforth, Nagore became a bone of contention between the Sultans of Gujrat and the Sisodiyas of Mewar and it appears that Nagore was finally lost to the Musalmans by the Rana in or about the year 1457 (*Mirat-i-Sikandari*, pp. 63-64; Ojha, *Udaipur-ka-Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 306). It is possible that Jodha might have annexed Nagore during the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi of Delhi (*Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 46) taking advantage of Mewar's preoccupation with the Sultans of Malwa and Gujrat. But Jodha's occupation of Nagore was only temporary for according to Ferishta and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, Mohammad Khan of Nagore finally accepted the suzerainty of Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi in the year 1509 (*Tabaqat*, Persian Text, p. 331; Briggs, I, p. 583 and A.B. Pande, *The First Afghan Empire in India*, pp. 148-49).
2. Tod, *Annals of Mewar*, p. 40; Brookes, *History of Mewar*, p. 12; *Jayamal-vanshprakash*, p. 62; Ojha, I, p. 243; Asopa p. 111; Reu, I, p. 99.
3. *Bahi*, f. 24(*a*); Nensi, II, p. 198; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 44; Tod, II, p. 951; Ojha, I, p. 243; Reu, I, p. 98; Asopa, p. 110.
4. Reu, I, p. 102.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 70-72; Ojha, I, p. 268; Reu, I, pp. 108-109; Asopa, pp. 120-21.
   Chanod and Raipur are situated in 25° 5′ N. and 75° 25′ E. about 20m. South-West of Pali and 26° N. and 74° E. respectively about a couple of miles West of Haripur Railway Station.

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of Chanod and Raipur, were, however, subjugated during Suja's rule. Subsequently, when in the year A.D. 1515, Suja's grandson, Ganga[1], succeeded his grandfather to the 'Gadi' of Marwar, the region of Mandor and all the important adjoining areas had been forged into one compact principality which thus became the traditional home-land of the Rathor Rajputs. With the foundation of the city of Jodhpur this state got a new Capital which became the source of inspiration and courage to all the Rathors. The descendants of Siha had by then spread over a major portion of Marwar and had founded many small principalities of their own in this region.

Though dominated by the Rathors the descendants of the various other Rajput clans, who had once ruled over the different parts of this region, were dislodged and driven off at the time of Ganga's accession.

This Rathor state of Marwar thus naturally had all the peculiar characteristics of the medieval Rajput State. It was really a conglomeration of smaller units, each being ruled by a Chieftain of its own who was more often than not of the Rathor clan. In fact, the ruling faction in the state belonged to only one particular clan. 'One clan, one state' was the most significant feature of the Rathor state of Marwar.

During the period of weak rulers the dependent nobles used to gather strength and assert greater independence by supporting the claims of various contestants for the throne in the absence of any law of primogeniture and this naturally led to much internal rivalry and strife. But under a strong ruler they had to owe allegiance to the head of the clan who was also the sovereign of the state.

The history of Marwar, which is attempted in the following pages, is the story of occasional internal clashes and counter-clashes and frequent unions and disunions against the foreign powers.

1. *Bahi*, f. 25(*b*); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 63; Nensi, II, pp. 144-45; *Vir Vinod*, p. 808; Tod, II, p. 953; *Raj. Gaz.*, III-A, p. 55; Ojha, I, p. 271; Reu, I, p. 111; Asopa, p. 124.

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CHAPTER TWO

Rao Ganga and the First Mughal Emperor

(A.D. 1515-1531)

GANGA, GRANDSON OF RAO SUJA, succeeded him to the Marwar 'gadi' in the year A.D. 1515.[1] At the time of his succession Sojat was given to his elder brother, Biram.[2] Merta was being independently ruled over by Biram Dudawat[3], while Nagore was under Sarkhel Khan and his son Daulat Khan.[4] Jalor and Sanchor were ruled by Sikandar Khan under the Sultans of Gujrat.[5] Moreover, all the Rathor Chiefs and nobles of Marwar claimed almost equality of them all on the basis of their common parentage, the Ruler of Marwar being only the most senior among them all.[6] Thus, though Ganga's position

1. Ganga was the second son of Suja's heir-apparent, Bagha, and ruled Marwar from November, 1515 to May, 1531. Although he was the second son, yet he became Ruler with the support of the nobles of Marwar.—*Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 63; Tod, II, p. 953; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 807-8; Ojha, I, p. 271; and 281; Reu, I, p. 111 and 115; Asopa, pp. 124 and 129.
2. Nensi, II, p. 144; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 9; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 47; Ojha, I, p. 274; Asopa, p. 125. Biram was given Sojat as per wishes of the nobles of Marwar (Nensi, II, p. 144).
3. *Chaturkulcharitra*, p. 25; *Jayamalvanshprakash*, p. 75.
4. *Kayamkhan Rasa*, pp. 41-43, verse 491-516; Nensi, II, pp. 150-51; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 11; Tod, II, p. 953; Ojha, I, p. 278; Reu, I, pp. 112-13; Asopa pp. 127-128; Maharajkumar, p. 22.
5. *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 56; Reu, I, p. 112; Ojha, I, p. 272; Maharajkumar, p.22. Sanchor is situated in 24° 45′ N. and 72° 26′ E. about 60 m. South-West of Jodhpur.
6. *Marwar Gaz.*, pp. 14-16; Tod, II, p. 1103; *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 357.

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was not very strong at the time of his accession, yet the political condition of India coupled with his friendly relations with the neighbouring states provided him with opportunity for the expansion of his inherited kingdom.

Fortunately, at this time Delhi Sultanate was ruled over by Ibrahim Lodi who was a weak Sultan and as such had his own difficulties with the nobles there. Therefore, there was no possibility of his thinking of interfering with the affairs of the distant principality of Marwar. Rana Sanga of Mewar was related to Ganga by marriage.[1] Hence, the relations between the states of Mewar and Marwar remained very cordial and Marwar's forces joined that of Mewar in the latter's battles of Idar and Khanua. The close relationship with Sanga enhanced the prestige and dignity of Ganga and his state at this crucial time when the political affairs of India were in a melting pot.

It is an accepted fact that during Sanga's rule Mewar became the leading power of Rajasthan; for all practical purposes he was considered to be the leader of the Rajputs.[2] Yet, Sanga sought military help from Ganga and more than once the Marwar forces fought on the side of Mewar as the latter's ally.

When Sanga had marched against Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat to help Raimall in recovering the throne of Idar, he sought the military aid from Rao Ganga.[3] One Dugarsi Balawat was sent by the Rana

1. Ganga's sister, Dhansi, was married to Sanga.—Nensi (A), I, p. 19.
2. *Sisod Vanshavali,* f. 19(1); *Gita Sangrah,* p. 99; *Maharana Yash Prakash,* pp. 62-65; *Rajratnakar,* f. 32(*a*) V. II; Tod, I, p. 348; *Cambridge History,* IV, p.16; Sarda, *Maharana Sanga,* p. 193; G.N. Sharma, p. 18.
3. In the year 1514 Raimal, nephew of late Rao Bhim of Idar, had expelled the latter's son Bharmal from Idar and ascended the throne (*Mirat-i-Sikandari,* p. 97; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* p. 63; Reu, I, p. 111).
   Bharmal approached Sultan Muzaffar Shah of Gujrat for help in recovering the 'gadi' of Idar and with the help of Nizam-ul-Mulk, the fief-holder of Ahmadnagar, he was reinstalled as the Ruler of Idar in 1515 (*Sikandari,* p. 98; *Ahmadi,* p. 63). Raimal went to Rana Sanga and the latter invaded Idar in the year 1520. According to the author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi,* p. 64, Rao Gangu or Ganga of Marwar took part in the battle as an ally of the Rana (*Jodhpur Khyat,* I, p. 66; *Bankidass Khyat,* p. 10; *Vir Vinod,* p. 808; Ojha, I, p. 272; Reu, I, pp. 111-12; Asopa, p. 125; Sarda, *Maharana Sanga,* p. 79). Rao Ganga joined the battle at the head of his 7,000 men (Sarda, p. 79; Reu, I, p. 112). His name has been mistakenly included in the list of Hindu leaders killed in this battle on the side of Rana by the author of *Mirat-i- Sikandari* (See p. 101). It is an established fact that Ganga was alive up to A.D. 1531.

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for that purpose to Marwar.[1] After prolonged negotiations, Ganga finally decided to lead the forces of Marwar personally against the Sultan of Gujrat[2]. It seems, Ganga went in person to help Sanga against the Sultan of Gujrat in order to grind his own axe. He was interested in getting his kinsman Raimal reinstated as the ruler of Idar. Ganga was himself not so powerful as to help Raimal in recovering the principality of Idar. So, he readily agreed to offer military help to Sanga of Mewar when the latter required it.

After the death of Ali Sher a dispute began for the headship of the state of Jalor.[3] Sanga was personally indifferent in this civil strife due to his occupation elsewhere[4] and so Ganga got a free hand and he went to the help of Gazi Khan in the year A.D. 1525.[5]

Just then a serious danger engulfed the Sultanate of Delhi by the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat at the hands of the king of Kabul, Zahir-ud-din Mohammad Babur.[6] Having secured his hold over Delhi, Agra and other parts of the Delhi Sultanate Babur turned his attention towards the Rajputs, who under the leadership of Sanga of Mewar were extending their hold northwards as well. Moreover, the Afghans and the Rajputs had allied themselves against the conqueror.[7]

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 66; Ojha, I, p. 272; Asopa, p. 125.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 66; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 10; *Vir Vinod*, p. 808; Ojha, I, p. 272; Sarda, *Sanga*, p. 79 and Asopa, p. 125.
3. &5. After the death of Mujahid Khan in the year 1509 the principality of Jalor was entrusted to one Bahi Khan by Sultan Mahmud Begada. Balu Khan, after his death, was succeeded by Malik Ali Sher Khan. In the year 1525 Malik Ali Sher breathed his last and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Khan [*Bom. Gaz.*, V, p. 319 (1880)]. Gazni Khan, the rival claimant to the throne of Idar, sought Ganga's help in the contest for the title of the principality of Jalor (*Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 56). But Sikandar concluded a treaty with Ganga by paying him money (Reu, I, p. 112). Thus, by taking part in the civil strife of Jalor, Ganga paved the way for the future conquest of Jalor by his son and successor Maldeo.
4. Rana Sanga was, at that time, preoccupied with the affairs of Gujrat anp Malwa (*Mirat-i-Sikandari*, pp. 112-13; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 360-61). Moreover, the Rana was also vigilant of the trend of events, at Delhi, after the conquest of Babur. This is why Sanga was disinterested in the affairs of Jalor.
6. Ibrahim Lodi met his end in the plains of Panipat on April 20, 1526 (Friday, Rajab 8, A.H. 932)—*Tuzuk*, II, p. 474; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 134; Gulbadan, p. 94; A.B. Pandey, p. 211.
7. *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 530-31; G.N. Sharma, pp. 19-20.

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Rana Sanga had also been preparing himself to face Babur and he called upon all the Rajput Rajas to join him.[1] Therefore, Rao Ganga too readily responded to this 'call to duty' from his brother-in-law[2] and sent a force of about 3,000 horsemen under the command of one of his own sons.[3]

The allied forces of the Rajput Chiefs and Sultan Mahmud Lodi advanced in the direction of Agra via Ranthambhor and Bayana as early as January, 1527.[4] Finally, the forces of Babur came face

1. *Mewar-ka-Itihas,* f. 126(*a*); G.N. Sharma, p. 26.
2. *Mewar-ka-Itihas,* f. 136(*a*); Tod, II, p. 953; *Vir Vinod,* p. 364; Ojha, I, pp. 273-74; Reu, I, p. 112; Asopa, pp. 125-26; Sarda, p. 144.

   Taking their clue from Tod's statement (The princes of Marwar and Amber did homage; *Annals of Mewar,* p. 41) that the prince of Marwar paid homage to Rana Sanga the modern historians have described Rao Ganga as the tributary of Rana Sanga, which is not correct by any means. No contemporary source of Mewar or Marwar gives any such details which could be interpreted to mean such type of political relationship between Sanga and Ganga. It appears, that the phrase 'feudatory Chief' for Rao Ganga has only been used by the modern historians to denote that Sanga was acknowledged by all the participants in the battle of Khanua as their leader. The random use of phrase 'feudatory Chief' does not mean that Sanga was acknowledged as a master by Rao Ganga. It seems Rao Ganga responded to the 'call to duty' in the traditional spirit of a Rajput Raja. The Rajput tradition has been since the days of Anandpal who measured sword against Mahmud of Ghazni to issue letters of call to duty to every important Rajput Raja. This practice is called 'Pati-Pakhen'. How could Rao Ganga keep himself aloof from the battle when in the first instance Sanga was related to him by marriage and in the second instance all other important Rulers of time (Hindu and Muslims) had allied themselves with the Rana. Moreover, the Rana's army represented nearly the whole of Rajasthan. Further, the battle of Khanua had assumed a national character as deduced by Dr. G.N. Sharma in his thesis, 'Mewar and the Mughal Emperors'. Therefore, every important ruler of Northern India was morally bound to respond to Sanga's letters of 'call to duty'. Hence, it can be safely concluded that Ganga sent his forces to fight under the leadership of Sanga at Khanua not as 'feudatory Chief' of the Rana of Mewar but either as a brother-in-law (looser) or as an ally who had had cordial relations with the house of Mewar since the day of his accession.
3. The authorities variously name Maldeo or Ranmall as the Commander of Marwar contingent. The Marwar contingent need not be confused with the forces sent by Biramdeo of Merta, whose was a semi-independent principality ruled over by a grandson of Jodha.
4. G.N. Sharma, p. 27.

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to face with the Rajput forces on the battlefield of Khanua where forces of Rao Ganga[1] also fought under the leadership of Sanga against the Mughal invader, Babur.

Rana's first encounter against the Mughal forces was at Bayana. According to the author of *Mewar-ka-Sankshipt Itihas*, a manuscript based on the daily doings of the rulers of Mewar, the right division of his army at the time of the siege of the Fort of Bayana on February 16, 1527 was put in charge of Rao Akhai Raj Deora, Raimal Rathor of Merta and Hasan Khan Mewati while the left was commanded by Narain Dass Hada of Bundi, Prince Maldeo of Jodhpur, Raja Dilip, Raja Nar Singh Deo and Medini Rai.[2] Thus, Prince Maldeo of Jodhpur was the Commander of the Marwar contingent[3] and Rana Sanga placed the whole of the Marwar Contingent on his left side. The dashing advance of the Rana's army resulted in the capture of the Fort of Bayana by the Rajput forces. Naturally, therefore, when Rana Sanga occupied his position on the 16 March 1527 at Khanua, only at a distance of four miles from Babur's Camp

1. *Baburnama* gives a list of 'Rajas and Rais of high degree', who joined 'Mewar forces in the battle of Khanua' (See Beveridge, II, p. 562). But in this list he has unfortunately missed to mention forces of Ganga. Thus there is no mention of Ganga's forces in the *Memoirs of Babur* while the historians of Mewar and Marwar have unanimously mentioned that Rao Ganga's forces fought in the battle of Khanua (See *Mewar-ka-Itihas*, f. 136(*a*); Tod, II, p. 953; *Vir Vinod*, p. 364; Ojha, I, pp. 273-74; Reu, I, p. 112; *Raj. Gaz.*, III-A, p. 55; Asopa, p. 125; Sarda, *Maharana Sanga*, p. 144; G.N. Sharma, p. 28).

   Babur recorded the name of one 'Kanku' or Gangu in the list of 'Hindu Chiefs killed at Khanua' (See p. 573 of the *Memoirs* translated in English by Beveridge, Vol. II). Possibly this name refers to some important commander of Marwar forces who was killed at the battle. Ganga was alive till 1531. Obviously Babur does not refer to him.

   Khanua (a village in the Rupbas Tehsil of Bharatpur district) is situated in 27.2° N. and 77.33° E., close to the left bank of Banganga River and is 13 m. South of Bharatpur City. 17th March 1527 is the date according to the calculation of Mrs. Beveridge. But Dr. Raghuvir Sinh has recently pointed out in one of his articles that the battle of Khanua was fought on Saturday, the 16th of March 1527. [See 'Raisen ka Shashak Salhadi Tanwar' by Dr. Raghuvir Sinh published in Nagri Pracharini Patrika (v. s. 2016) p. 171.] The difference of one day is due to intercalary difference in the calculation.
2. *Mewar-ka-Itihas*, f. 139 (*a*).
3. ibid., f. 136 (*a*) and 139 (*a*).

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Sanga repeated the disposition of his forces that had given him success at Bayana. Thus, the Marwar Contingent under Ganga's heir-apparent, Maldeo, was on the left of Rana's army in the battle of Khanua. On Saturday the 16 March 1527[1], at about 9.30 a. m. the first shot was fired and the offensive was taken by the left wing of the Rana's army headed by Medini Rai and Maldeo of Jodhpur.[2] The Rajputs assaulted the right wing of the Mughal army.[3] So fierce was the onslaught that the Mughal army would have been routed had Babur not rushed to their help. At the instance of Babur, Chin Timur Sultan attacked the centre of the left wing of the Rajput army[4] and thus the right flank of the Mughal army was saved from annihilation. As a result of Chin Timur's charge a gap was created between the rear-guard and the left flank of the Rajput army.[5] Taking advantage of this situation Mustapha gave orders to the artillery to fire.[6] Thus, the right wing of the Mughal army gained chance to recover from the shock. The Rajputs, noticing that the attention of the Mughals was engaged on their left flank made a vigorous attack on the left flank of the Mughal army.[7] But, unfortunately, at that very moment an arrow struck the head of Sanga which rendered him senseless soon.[8] His guards flew to his relief and the wounded Rana 'was carried away' to a far distant place called Baswa, in an unconscious condition under the escort of Maldeo of Jodhpur, Akhai Raj Deora of Sirohi and Prithvi Raj of Amber.[9]

Thus, the leader of the Marwar Contingent played no less important role in the battle of Khanua; offensive was taken by the left wing of the Rana's army headed by Maldeo of Jodhpur and others

1. Dr. Raghuvir Sinh, p. 171.
2. *Baburnama* (SBL), f. 246(*a*); *Akbarnama* (Persian), I, p. 134; *Vir Vinod*, p. 369; Briggs, II, p. 58.
3. Rushbrook Williams, p. 153.
4. *Baburnama* (SBL), f. 246 (*a*); *Akbarnama* (Persian), I, p. 133; *Tuzuk*, II, p. 568; Briggs, II, p. 58; *Vir Vinod*, p. 369.
5. *Tuzuk*, p. 568; *Vir Vinod*, p. 369; Rushbrook Williams, p. 153.
6. *Tuzuk*, p. 569; *Akbarnama* (Persian), I, p. 134; *Vir Vinod*, p. 369.
7. *Tuzuk*, p. 569; *Mewar-ka-Itihas*, f. 141(b) ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 369.
8. *Mewar-ka-Itihas*, f. 141 (b); *Vir Vinod*, p. 366.
9. ibid.

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while the wounded Rana was removed to Baswa under the escort of Prince Maldeo of Marwar.

Though Babur defeated Rana Sanga in the battle of Khanua, he was not able to follow it up by pushing into Rajasthan. Ganga had, therefore, an opportunity to expand his own dominions by annexing Sojat from his elder brother Biram. Ganga marched at the head of a large force, and making Dholhare the base for his operations he captured Sojat within a short period of time.[1]

Soon after this Ganga had to face the forces of Nagore led by Sarkhel Khan and his son Daulat Khan who had been instigated by Ganga's uncle Shekha to invade Marwar.[2] A battle was fought somewhere near Barahi and Gagni between Rao Ganga and Sarkhel Khan.[3] In this battle Rao Jaitsi of Bikaner took the side of Ganga.[4] Shekha was killed in the encounter in the year 1529.[5]

Rao Ganga breathed his last on May 21, 1531, when he fell from the balcony in the fort palace.[6]

1. Nensi, II, pp. 145-48; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 49; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 9; Ojha, I, pp. 274-77; Reu, I, p. 114.
2. Nensi, II, pp. 151-52; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 63; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 11; *Vir Vinod*, p. 808; Ojha, I, p. 278; Reu, I, p. 112; Asopa, p. 127.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 64; Ojha, I, pp. 277-78; Reu, I, pp. 112-13; Asopa, p. 127.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 64; Ojha, I, p. 279; Reu, I, p. 113.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 63; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 11; Ojha, I, p. 279; Reu, I, p.113; Asopa, p. 127.
6. It is alleged that Maldeo pushed his father and as a result of fall from the window Rao Ganga died (Nensi, II, p. 154; *Vir Vinod*, p. 808). The allegation is based on information supplied by the two *Khyats* (*Mundiyar Thikana ki Khyat* and *Rathod Vanshavali* edited by Late Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur). Tod also mentions on the authority of yatis' roll that Ganga was poisoned (See Tod, II, p. 953). The information relied upon by Ojha (Vol. I, p. 281) is confirmed by *Jodhpur Rajya-ki-Khyat* (Vol. I, p. 63). Still Reu and Asopa, the two modern historians of Marwar, have tried to exonerate Maldeo of the charge of patricide by mentioning Ganga's death as a result of accidental fall from the window without referring to any authority on which they have based their conclusions. According to these latter historians Ganga was addicted to opium. He fell from the window, where he was enjoying cool breeze, accidentally, on May, 21, 1531. As Maldeo was by nature an ambitious young man, it is possible that he might have pushed his father from the window or he might have entrusted the task to some of his trusted nobles. Hence, the information supplied by the earlier *Khyats* cannot be ignored simply to exonerate Maldeo from the charge of patricide.

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Ganga was an ambitious yet wise ruler. He maintained friendly relations with Sanga of Mewar and utilised all possible opportunities to increase the boundaries of his inherited kingdom. He not only consolidated the state of Marwar but made himself one of the important rulers of Rajasthan, perhaps second to Rana Sanga only. Consequently, at the time of Babur's conquest of India, the state of Marwar had gained some real importance under Ganga. He left behind him a secure throne for his son and successor, Maldeo, under whom Marwar reached the zenith of its power. Ganga thus paved the way for the future greatness of Marwar.

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CHAPTER THREE

Maldeo and his Contemporaries on the Throne of Delhi

(A.D. 1531-1562)

RAO GANGA'S SON and successor, Maldeo, ascended the 'gadi' of Marwar in the year A.D. 1531.[1] He has been described by all contemporary Persian historians as the 'most potent prince in Hindustan'.[2]

At the time of his accession only two districts of Mandor and Sojat, with Jodhpur as Capital, were under his sway.[3] But the conditions all round in Rajasthan, at this time, were very favourable for the state of Marwar to extend its boundaries and to consolidate its position and resources. Misfortunes of the house of Mewar after the death of Sanga, resulting from the succession of weak or minor rulers and the prolonged struggle between Humayun and Bahadur Shah left Maldeo free to enlarge his dominions and strengthen his own power in Rajasthan. Babur died prematurely in December, 1530 and was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun who was by character and temperament unsuited to consolidate the newly conquered Mughal

1. *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; Tod, II, p. 953; Ojha, I, p. 84; Reu, I, p. 116; Asopa, p. 130.

   Maldeo was enthroned on June 5, 1531 and ruled Marwar up to November 7, 1562.

2. *AN*, II, p. 248; Badaoni, I, p. 562; *Tabaqat*, I, p. 83 ; *Jahangir* (A and B) II, p. 99; Ferishta, II, p. 121.

3. Reu, I, p. 116; Asopa, p. 130; Maharajkumar, p. 27.

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State in India. Enemies of the Timurid dynasty raised their heads in several parts of India and in the bid for political supremacy in India two powerful claimants were Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Sher Khan of Bihar. A gifted soldier and a clever diplomat, Maldeo proceeded cautiously and handled the situation with considerable tact and determination.

Taking advantage of the struggle between Bahadur Shah and Humayun, Maldeo entered on a career of conquest soon after ascending the throne of Marwar. He proceeded to conquer and bring under his sway the Sindhals of Bhadrajun[1] and the Bihari Pathans of Jalor.[2] Sometime later he subjugated the forts of Siwana[3] and Sanchor.[4] Thus he now had a chain of these strong fortresses on his eastern and southern boundaries. Later he subdued the Bhatti Rajputs of Phalodi[5] also.

Maldeo now turned his attention to his other boundaries

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 68; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 51; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; *Vir Vinod*, p. 808; Tod, II, p. 954; Ojha, I, p. 285; Maharajkumar, p. 27. Bhadrajun is situated in 25° 36′ N. and 72° 53′ E., 50 m., South of Jodhpur (*Raj. Gaz.*, III-A, p. 188). Bhadrajun was conquered by Maldeo in the year 1539. Conquest of Bhadrajun was followed by Maldeo's invasion of Rajpur. Raipur was also captured by him from the Sindhals in the year 1541 (*vide*, a copy of contemporary documents in Basta No. 103, Archives office, Bikaner. Also see, Reu, I, p. 116 and Tod, II, p. 955).

2. Nensi, II, p. 160; *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, pp. 74-75; Tod, II, p. 954; Ojha I, p. 288; Reu, I, p. 122.

3. According to an inscription, outside the backdoor of the Fort of Siwana, dated 8 dark half of Ashad V.S. 1594 (1537), Maldeo conquered Siwana in the year A.D. 1537 and not in 1539 as mentioned by Tod. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 68; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; Tod, II, p. 954; *Vir Vinod*, p. 809; Ojha, I, p. 288; Reu, I, pp. 121-22.

4. Malik Khan of Jalor conquered the forts of Jalor and Sanchor by defeating Balochis in the battle of Lasoda in or about the year 1535 (*Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 72). One Gangadass was appointed Commander of the forts of Jalor and Sanchor by the said Khan. Fort of Jalor was captured by Maldeo with the connivance of Gangadass. Malik Khan was thus forced to retire to Sanchor which also was later on conquered by Maldeo from Malik Khan (*Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 75; Asopa, pp. 130-31).

5. Phalodi was conquered by Maldeo in or about the year 1547. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XII, pp. 90-91 (1916).

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also and defeated Biramdeo of Merta[1] and Rao Jaitsi of Bikaner[2] and annexed their respective States. Thus, "the tracts on the Luni, the earliest possession of his house, which had thrown off all independence", were subjugated by him and the ancient 'allodial tenantry' was compelled by him to hold him as their Chief and to serve him with their quotas.

The end of Bahadur Shah in 1537 relieved Humayun of a serious rival and Maldeo of a potential enemy. But Humayun's position was still by no means secure. In the east Sher Khan had assumed considerable power and now started the final struggle between Humayun and Sher Shah, which culminated in the ultimate expulsion of Humayun. Taking advantage of this contest for supremacy over Delhi Maldeo extended his possession in the direction of Delhi. He fought against the Pathans of Nagore[3] and the Chiefs of Sambhar, Fatehpur, Udaipur (in Shekhawati), Chatsu, Tonk, Tode, Malpura, Bilara, Jaitaran, Didwana and Pachpadra.[4] Thus, "In course of

1. Nensi, II, pp. 155-57; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 68-69; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; Tod, II, p. 955; *Jaymal Vansh Prakash*, I, pp. 92-93; *Chaturkul-charitra*, I, p. 30; Ojha, I, pp. 285-87; Reu, I, pp. 118-19; Maharajkumar, p. 27. Biram had taken possession of Merta from Samsher-ul-Mulk in or about the year 1535 (*Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 68 ; Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 257; Maharajkumar, p. 27). Hence, Ajmer also passed into the hands of Maldeo after Biram's defeat at his hands in the same year. Nensi is silent on the point. The year of Biram's conquest of Ajmer as given in the *Jodhpur Khyat* is wrong (Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 157; Maharajkumar, p. 27 and Reu, I, p. 119).

2. *Karamachandravanshot Kirtin Kavyam* by Jaysom, verse 205 to 218 (referred to by Ojha). *Khyat*, I, p. 69;. *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 51; *Bankidass Khyat*, p.12; Tod, II, p. 954; Ojha, I; p. 292 ; Reu, I, p. 125 ; Maharajkumar, p. 28. According to *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 69, Bikaner was annexed by Rao Maldeo in the year 1542. The date of Maldeo's conquest is corroborated by the date of the inscription found at the Chhatri of Rao Jaitsi according to which Jaitsi died on Feb. 26, 1542.

3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 68; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 51; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; *Vir Vinod*, p. 808; Tod, II, p. 954; Ojha, I, p. 287; Reu, I, pp. 117-18; Maharajkumar, p. 27. Copy of an old document in Basta No. 103 also preserves a detailed account of Maldeo's conquest of Nagore.

4. *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, pp. 50-51; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; Basta No. 103; Tod, II, p. 955 ; Asopa, p. 130 ; Reu, *Glories of Marwar*, p. XXI; Maharajkumar, pp. 27-28.

Rajrupak (p. 15, verse 40) also confirms the various conquests of Maldeo :—

माल गंग गादी राव मारू सबला किया आपरै सारू

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ten years, by reducing many local hereditary chieftains under his sway, Rao Maldeo had increased his possessions on every side so that they comprehended all the present country of Jodhpur, including Merta, Nagore, Phalodi, forts of Bikaner and Jaisalmer, Ajmer with other smaller districts, and a large portion of Amber, which brought him close on the limits of Agra and Delhi".[1] Marwar, under Maldeo, reached its zenith of power, expansion and glory.

Meanwhile, Humayun was finally defeated by Sher Khan in the battle of Bilgram on May 17, 1540. Finding his cause all but lost Humayun fled to Agra and thence to Lahore. In this moment of extreme adversity he visited various places including Bhakkar[2] (towards the end of January, 1541), when Maldeo is reported to have sent an envoy to assist Humayun in subjugating Hindustan with a promise to offer a force of 20,000 strong.[3]

Now the question arises about the motive and plan of Maldeo in sending an envoy to the fugitive Mughal Emperor even after the latter's defeat in the battle of Bilgram. Modern historians[4] have tried to offer their own explanations for this move of Maldeo the purport of which can be briefly summarised as under :—

(i) Maldeo wanted to reinstate Humayun with the help of Rajput Sword. Being an ambitious diplomat he wished 'to have on the throne of Delhi a ruler who should be his friend and ally'. Thus, he wanted

1. *vide, Mundhiyar Thikana ki Khyat,* pp. 78-80 (referred to by S.R. Sharma); *Suraj Prakash,* p. 26; *Raj. Gaz.*, III-A, pp. 56-7, *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 78.
2. Stewart, p. 35; Gulbadan, p. 153; *AN*, I, p. 362; *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 267; Elliot, *Tarkhan-Nama,* I, p. 317; *Tabaqat*, I, p. 76; Ferishta, II, p. 92; Qanungo, p. 266; S.K. Banerjee, II, pp. 51-52; Ishwari Prasad, p. 210.
3. *Tarikh-i-Sind,* p. 281; *Tarkhan-Nama,* Elliot, I, p. 317; *Tabaqat*, II, pp. 83-84; Briggs, II, p. 93; Qanungo, p. 266; S.K. Banerjee, II, p. 52; Ishwari Prasad, p. 210; *Vir Vinod*, p. 809; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 39; Ojha, I, p. 294; Maharajkumar, p. 28; Tripathi, p. 103.

   The Marwar *Khyats* make no mention of Maldeo's offer to Humayun. Tod (Vol. II, p. 956) and Reu (Vol. I, p. 126) are of the opinion that the offer was made because Humayun appealed to Maldeo for help. This view is not supported by contemporary authorities.
4. Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Dr. S.K. Banerjee, Dr. A. L. Srivastava, Dr. Ishwari Prasad and Dr. R.P. Tripathi.

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'to elevate Marwar to same position of supremacy which Mewar had occupied in the days of Sangramsingh'.

(ii) Maldeo believed that Humayun's expulsion from Delhi was only temporary and his cause would ultimately prevail. He looked upon Sher Shah as usurper and probably he considered that a war with Sher Shah was now inevitable for him. So, in order to strengthen his own cause he wanted to befriend the fugitive Emperor whom probably he considered as a friend of the Rajputs. He wanted 'to use him as a pawn in the game for supremacy which he hoped to play with Sher Shah'.

(iii) Biramdeo of Merta and Kalyanmal of Bikaner, whose respective dominions were annexed by Rao Maldeo, are said to have fled to Sher Shah to seek his help against Maldeo. To counteract them Maldeo sought alliance with Humayun and invited him to Marwar with a promise to assist him in recovering the lost throne.

All these explanations do not offer a possible and very plausible answer to the question posed above. Obviously the real fact is not brought out by these three explanations. Maldeo had made this offer to Humayun after a careful study of the actual state of affairs in the realm of Delhi then under Sher Shah. Sher Shah himself was in Bengal, with major portion of his army[1] while a greater portion of the remaining army was locked up in the Ghakkar Country.[2] Gwalior still held out against his general Sujat Khan[3] and the Chiefs of Malwa were openly hostile to him.[4] Moreover, at that time, Sher Shah did not at all suspect Maldeo and make any special arrangements to watch over his movements during these fateful years.

But nothing came out of this offer of help from Maldeo as Humayun at this critical hour 'frittered away his energies in divided commands'.

1. Briggs, II, p. 119; Dorn, I, pp. 131-32; Qanungo, p. 267; Ishwari Prasad, p. 163; Tripathi, p. 120; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 52.
2. Dorn, I, p. 130; Qanungo, p. 266; A.L. Srivastava, p. 40; Ishwari Prasad, p. 162; Tripathi, p. 120.
3. Dorn, I, p. 132; Qanungo, p. 267; A. L. Srivastava, pp. 40-41; Ishwari Prasad, p. 167.
4. Briggs, II, p. 119; Qanungo, p. 267; A.L. Srivastava, pp. 42-43; Ishwari Prasad, p. 165; Tripathi, p. 121; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 52.

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He wasted some twelve months in Sindh[1] making fruitless adventures for occupying Sindh and Gujrat. During this time Sher Shah had conquered Malwa and thereby consolidated his position. By the end of June 1542, Sher Shah was back in Agra[2] and from there he was keeping a careful watch over the happenings in and on the Western boundary of Rajasthan.

On the other hand when Humayun saw the helplessness of his own situation in Sindh, he said, "very well : I shall go to Raja Maldeo"[3] and he left Bank of Aru (a village in the district of Bhakkar) for Marwar on May 7, 1542 via Uccha and towards the end of July, 1542 reached Kul-i-Jogi.[4]

1. Humayun reached Bhakkar on Jan. 26, 1541 (*AN*, I, p. 362; Qanungo, p. 266; Ishwari Prasad, p. 204, f. No. 2) and he left the region of Bhakkar in Rabi-ul-Awwal, A.H. 949 (i.e., in June, 1542).
   See Mir Masim's *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 281 and *Tarikh-nama* (Sushil Gupta pub.), p. 67.
   But according to the modern historians of Humayun and Sher Shah (Dr. S.K. Banerjee, Dr. Ishwari Prasad, Dr. K. R. Qanungo and Dr. A.L. Srivastava) Humayun left Bhakkar for Uccha on Muharram 21, A.H. 949, i. e., May, 7, 1542 (see also *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p. 47).
   It appears from the readings of histories of Sindh that while Humayun was in Bhakkar Maldeo's invitation was received by him (See *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p.281). The fugitive Mughal Emperor proceeded towards Siwistan (a place in the region of Bhakkar) in August, 1541, with the aim of besieging the castle there. Thus, Maldeo's invitation must have been received by Humayun sometime between February and August, 1541, most probably, as Dr. Qanungo rightly thinks, in the month of June, 1541 and the shortsighted Emperor decided to avail of the invitation exactly after an year.
2. Ferishta, II, p. 120; Abbas, p. 135; S. K. Banerjee, II, p. 63; Qanungo, p. 316
3. Gulbadan, p. 153.
4. Jauhar (Persian, p. 37); *AN*, I, 372; De, II, p. 84 f. n.; Devi Prasad *Humayunnama*, pp. 66–69; Qanungo, p. 271; Ojha, I, p. 295; S.K. Banerjee, II, p. 55; Ishwari Prasad, p. 211.
   According to Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din Humayun encamped at a place 12 Kos from Bikaner on July 31, 1542 and from this place he is said to have proceeded to Phalodi via Pylpur, i.e., Pokaran (See Stewart, p. 37; Gulbadan, Beveridge, p. 153). According to the historians of Marwar (Ojha, Reu and Asopa) Humayun marched upto Kul-i-Jogi, a place very near Maldeo's capital (See *Vir Vinod*, p. 809; Devi Prasad, *Humayunnama*, p. 69; Ojha, I, p. 296; Reu, I, p. 126; Asopa, p, 133; Ishwari Prasad, p. 212); See also Jauhar (Persian MS.), p. 37.
   Abul Fazl appears to be more correct when he locates Kul-i-Jogi somewhere near Phalodi at least sixty miles away from Maldeo's capital Mandor (See *AN*, I, p. 372).

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Humayun's arrival there at this time was least expected. The chance of a life-time had been lost. Humayun's power had greatly declined during these thirteen months while that of Sher Shah had been almost doubled. Thus, the Mughal Emperor had missed the opportunity through his negligence and lack of farsightedness. Now the tables had turned. With the return of Sher Shah to Agra, preceded by his conquest of Malwa, the circumstances had completely changed. Hence, 'when Maldeo was informed of Humayun's helplessness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Shah'.[1] Humayun sent three messengers,[2] one after another, with firmans, calling upon Rao Maldeo to wait on him. Just then Sher Shah had also sent his envoy to Maldeo's Court who is said to have brought a letter from Sher Shah calling upon Maldeo to capture Humayun.[3] Maldeo assessed the actual situation and fully understood all the implications. He fully realised the utter helplessness of Humayun's cause. He, therefore, decided upon a policy of neither to give an effront to Sher Shah nor to render active military support to Humayun. The Rathor Chief, however, refrained from capturing or in anyway harming the unwelcome guest and offered to give Bikaner to Humayan.[4] The fugitive Emperor duly sensed this cold reception given to him by Maldeo, and he suspected in his shortsightedness some treachery and foul-play as well from Maldeo.

Maldeo has been invariably criticised by all historians for his inhospitable conduct towards Humayun, which according to many of them amounted to treachery.[5] The historians of Marwar, however, give a different explanation of Humayun's withdrawal from Marwar

1. *Tabaqat*, II, p. 85.
2. Atkah Khan was sent to Maldeo from Phalodi (See Gulbadan). Mir Samandar and Raimal Soni had also been sent to Maldeo with a view to obtain the Rao's reply (*AN*, I, p. 373; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahagiri*, p. 47; *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 282).
3. *vide*, letter of Mulla Surkh (a former Librarian of Humayun who had entered the service of Maldeo just before the Emperor's arrival in the vicinity of Maldeo's Capital) quoted by Gulbadan (see Gulbadan, p. 154; Also see *Tabaqat*, II, p. 85).
4. Gulbadan, p. 154; Also see Stewart, p. 38 and Reu, I, p. 126.
5. *AN*, I, p. 379; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 85; Stewart, p. 38; Gulbadan's account also tries to prove treachery or at least foul-play on the part of Maldeo (See Gulbadan, p. 154; Badaoni, I, p, 563; *Tarikh-i-Sind*, p. 283).

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at this juncture. According to them when Humayun was informed by his attendants at Kul-i-Jogi that Maldeo was planning to appropriate all his remaining treasures, he quickly marched out of Maldeo's domain.[1] The author of *Vir Vinod* gives another cause for Humayun's withdrawal from Marwar. According to him some officers of Humayun butchered cows within the territories of Maldeo. This action greatly hurt the religious feeling of the Rajputs. Consequently, Maldeo had to show complete indifference towards Humayun.[2]

It is, however, definitely clear that Maldeo was not at all ready and willing to render any help to his unwelcome guest under the changed circumstances.[3] The charge of intended treachery cannot possibly hold ground as it was not very difficult for Maldeo to capture Humayun and hand him over to Sher Shah and thus gain the latter's favour. Maldeo was a shrewd diplomat and he felt that at the moment Sher Shah was 'De Jure' and 'De facto' sovereign of Hindustan. For this reason Maldeo was not prepared to offend Sher Shah by helping Humayun. On the other hand Humayun's was a lost cause and Maldeo thought it unwise and useless to help him in regaining the throne of Hindustan. So, he deliberately created a situation in which Humayun, might retreat from the vicinity of Jodhpur without making it necessary for the Rathor Chief to set his hand on him.[4]

Thus, in utter disappointment Humayun left Maldeo's territories and ultimately found shelter in the fort of Umarkot[5] from where he later proceeded to Persia to secure military aid from the Shah there.

About eighteen months after the departure of Humayun from the territories of Marwar, Sher Shah decided to lead an expedition

1. Reu, I, p. 127; Asopa, p. 133; See also Stewart, p. 30.
2. *Vir Vinod*, p. 809.
   This incident of cow-slaughter is not mentioned by any other historian.
3. When Humayun was encamped at Kul-i-Jogi Sher Shah invaded Nagore which is hardly eighty miles from Jodhpur and occupied its outlying part (See *Tabaqat*, Persian text, p. 206; *AN*, Persian text, I, p. 180; Qanungo, p. 274).
4. Maldeo was only half inclined to harass Humayun.
5. In his translation of *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* by Jauhar, Stewart says that Maldeo held out threats to Humayun during his journey from Phalodi to Umarkot (See Stewart, pp. 40–41). But the person actually referred to in Jauhar's memoirs is Maldeo Bhatti, son of Rawal Lunkaran, the then ruler of Jaisalmer (I. O. Library MS., Transcript in Allahabad Uni. Library, p. 55).

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against Maldeo.[1] He had just successfully completed his expedition against Raisen where he had defeated Puranmal Tomar.[2] It was then suggested to him that he should proceed to Deccan to chastise the rebellious vassals there but in reply Sher Shah is reported to have said, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into mind that since the time of Sultan Ibrahim, the infidel zamindars have rendered the country of Islam full of unbelievers in the regiou round about Delhi and Malwa and they are in possession of the country. Until I have cleared the country from the existing contamination of the unbelievers, I will not go into any other country. Therefore, it is necessary for me that I should first consolidate the country acquired by me. First of all, I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo, who is Jagirdar of Ajmer, Nagor and Marwar. He was servant of the ruler of Nagor and Ajmer, he slew his master and acquired possessions of the principality of Ajmer and Nagor".[3] 'Arkan-i-Daulat' (the Afghan amirs of Sher Shah) too fully supported Sher Shah's view.[4] Therefore, in the year A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543) the king started on his expedition against Maldeo to attack and capture Ajmer, Nagore and Marwar.[5]

Thus, while according to Abbas and Abdullah, Sher Shah decided to attack Rao Maldeo of Jodhpur to take revenge of the defeats he had given to the Muslims, modern historians give wholly different

1. Though some of the modern historians of Humayun (See Ishwari Prasad, p. 209) have tried to prove that Maldeo's offer of help to the fugitive Emperor had no connection with Sher Shah's invasion of Marwar, yet it is an established fact that Humayun's arrival in Marwar caused anxiety in the mind of Sher Shah and therefore he sent his envoy to Maldeo with a request to arrest Humayun and hand over him to the Afghan Ruler. Hereafter, Maldeo was pre-eminent in Sher Shah's mind and therefore he decided to march against him as soon as he was able to consolidate his position at Delhi, Agra, Gwalior and Raisen.
2. Puranmal was defeated by Sher Shah in 1543. Abbas, pp. 134-135; *Tabaqat* II, p. 171 f. n.; Badaoni, I, p. 476; A. L. Srivastava, pp, 44-46.
3. Abbas Sarwani, pp. 137-38, *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 150 ; Badaoni, I, p. 476; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 171 f. n. No. 1.
4. Abbas Sarwani, p. 138; Badaoni, I, p. 476.
5. Abbas Sarwani, p. 138; Nensi, II, p. 160 f. n.; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 52, Sher Sh h marched against Maldeo (in the beginning of January, 1544 about the middle of Shawwal, A. H. 950)
See Qanungo, p. 321; Also see Tod, II, pp. 956-57; Ojha, I, pp. 300-301; Reu, I, p. 128; Asopa, p. 133; Maharajkumar, p. 29.

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reasons for Sher Shah's invasion of Marwar. The reasons given by the modern historians may be summarised thus :—

(i) Sher Shah was not happy with Maldeo's early overtures to Hamayun and also his (Maldeo's) omission to capture and handover Humayun in defiance of his wishes. Sher Shah wanted Maldeo's complete submission and undivided loyalty.

(ii) Sher Shah considered Maldeo as a serious rival to himself. The North-East boundaries of the Marwar State had reached within 50 miles of Delhi. As such Maldeo's continued independence was considered a definite threat to the safety and stability of the Delhi Kingdom.

(iii) Biramdeo of Merta and Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, whose territories had been conquered and annexed by Maldeo, had sought Sher Shah's help against Maldeo. Sher Shah, therefore, decided to take up their cause and thus subjugate Maldeo to his own authority.

Thus the invasion of Marwar by Sher Shah was the direct result of a great political necessity and was not a mere 'holy war' as it is made out to be by the Muslim Chronicles.[1]

Sher Shah knew that Maldeo was not only the 'leader of the Rais of Hindustan',[2] but also the most powerful prince having a very large army said to be 50,000 strong.[3] Therefore, Sher Shah decided to take Maldeo by surprise. He was also informed that Ajmer and the neighbouring country had been very well fortified by Maldeo.[4]

1. Badaoni, I, p.476; Abbas Sarwani, p.137; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p.156.
2. Badaoni, I, p. 477.
3. Badaoni, I, p. 477; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 171; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; Ferishta, II, p. 121; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p. 52; Tod, II. pp. 956-57.
   According to the Chronicles of Marwar Maldeo possessed a large army of about 80,000 men—*Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 69; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II. p. 52; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12; Ojha, I, p. 302, f. n.; Reu, I, p. 218.
   It appears quite probable that Maldeo came to oppose Sher Shah with 50,000 strong and left behind 30,000 men to guard his capital.
4. Maldeo had fortified Ajmer with special care (long before Sher Shah defeated the Mughal Emperor) after its capture from Biramdeo of Merta. Ajmer was given in *jagir* to one Mahesh Kupawat (Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 150; also see Qanungo, p. 317).

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So, Sher Shah did not take the usual route to Marwar via Bayana and Ajmer. Sher Shah started from Agra[1] for Marwar and proceeded direct to Didwana[2] where he had to fight a pitched battle against Kumpa, who was Maldeo's lieutenant in that region. Kumpa sent the information to Maldeo.[3] Meanwhile Sher Shah reached Ajmer and encamped there.[4] In the meantime, Maldeo had marched down to Ajmer and encamped there with his vast army.[5] Afraid lest his line of retreat may be cut off from behind instead of proceeding direct to Jodhpur, Sher Shah veered to South-East and proceeded towards Jaitaran. Meanwhile Maldeo also advanced from Ajmer in South-West direction for about 28 miles and reached Babra.[6] Before long the two forces were encamped at no great distance from

1. Abbas Sarwani, p. 139; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; Ferishta, II, p. 121; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 54; A. L. Srivastava, p. 51; Maharajkumar, p. 29.

   No contemporary authority gives the details of the route of Sher Shah from Agra towards Marwar. The *Khyats*, however, mention about his going to Didwana on the way where a battle was fought with Kumpa. Therefore, it can be concluded that Sher Shah marched from Agra towards Marwar via Delhi (from where Dr. Qanungo thinks that he started on his expedition to Marwar), Shekhawati and Didwana. From Didwana he took a direct route towards Ajmer and purposely avoided the sandy tracts of Nagor and Merta. He took his position at Samel from where western edge of the desert of Marwar starts. It appears that Sher Shah always wished to keep the wooded areas in his defence. Therefore, he intentionally avoided the sandy region because digging of trenches in the sandy region was not possible while Ferishta informs us that "..During the march...he entrenched his camp every night." No doubt, wherever, "he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions". Yet he tried his best to avoid sandy tract as far as possible. His movements towards Jaitaran instead of direct dash and his finally taking up position near the River of Samel are conclusive evidence of the extreme caution he took in choosing his route in the region of Marwar.

2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 69.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 69 ; Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 151.
4. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157.
   It appears that Sher Shah did not personally go to Ajmer. He remained in the neighbourhood of Ajmer, facing Maldeo, for about a month till the latter's retreat in the direction of Jaitaran (See *Tabaqat*, II, p. 171 ; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 151).
5. Badaoni, I, p. 476; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 70; Nensi, II, p. 157.
6. *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 52; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 12.

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each other. Thus while Sher Shah was encamped at Samel[1], Maldeo's forces were at Girri, which is about 12 miles South-West of Samel. Sher Shah hesitated to force a battle with Maldeo in this region,[2] where neither food nor fodder was easily available for his army. His situation still worsened when he came to know that digging of trenches in the sandy region was also not possible. Hence, bags were piled over one another to form artificial entrenchment.[3] Sher Shah now realised the folly of having undertaken this fruitless expedition, but now he could not even think of retreat as it would have proved more disastrous. He now thought of trying to get out of this difficult situation by means of a stratagem. He got ready forged letters supposed to have been written to Sher Shah by the various nobles of Maldeo promising to betray Maldeo at the vital moment[4] and arranged to have them delivered to Maldeo.[5] The contents of the letters greatly

1. *Vir Vinod*, p. 810; Asopa, p. 133.
   Samel is commonly recorded by modern historians as Sumel. But in topo sheet No. 45 it has been spelt as Samel. There is no place known as Sumel in and about Jaitaran, or Merta or Ajmer.
2. Badaoni, I, p. 477; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 70; Tod, II, p. 957; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 54; Ojha, I, p. 302; Reu, I, p. 128.
3. Badaoni, I, p. 477; Ferishta, II, p. 121; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 121; Abbas Sarwani, p. 139; Tod, II, p. 957; Ojha, I, p. 302; A.L. Srivastava, p. 51; Reu, I, p. 129; Asopa, p. 133.
4. Abbas Sarwani, p. 139; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 171; Badaoni I, p. 478; Ferishta, II, p. 121; Nensi, II, p. 158; Tod, II, p. 957; *Vir Vinod*, p. 810; Qanungo, pp. 328-29; Ojha, I, 302; Reu, I, p. 129; Asopa, p. 134; A.L. Srivastava, p. 51 and Tripathi, p. 125.
   It is probable, as the *Khyats* say, that the forged letters were written at the suggestion of Biramdeo.
5. The authorities vary greatly as regards the manner in which these letters or the contents of the same were made to reach Maldeo. According to Persian sources these letters were enclosed in a *Kharita* or a Silken Bag and were handed over to a person who was to drop the *Kharita* near the tent of Maldeo's minister and when the Vakil had seen the *Kharita* he was to come back (Abbas Sarwani and Ferishta). But according to Nensi the nobles of Maldeo, Jaita and Kumpa, were heavily bribed by Sher Shah through Biram and Rao was informed of the fact by Biram himself. The *Khyat* writers and the author of *Vir Vinod* inform us that these letters were kept inside shields which were subsequently sold to the nobles of Maldeo at nominal prices and Maldeo was informed of the supposed conspiracy by Biram (Abbas Sarwani, p. 139; Briggs, II, pp. 121-22; Nensi, II, p. 158; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 71; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 52; and *Vir Vinod*, p. 810).

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alarmed Maldeo who retreated towards Jodhpur on January 4, 1544.[1] Many important nobles of the Jodhpur army accompanied Maldeo. But some of the nobles headed by Jaita and Kumpa along with about 12,000 horsemen decided to stay behind to face Sher Shah. Consequently next morning on January 5, 1544 the Marwar contingent headed by Jaita and Kumpa fought a severe battle with Sher Shah.[2] The Rajputs preferred hand to hand fight and therefore dismounted from their horses. Sher Shah, however, decided upon a different strategy. He ordered an elephant charge backed up by fire arm artillery and archers.[3] It was quite an unequal contest. Still the brave Rajputs might have possibly been victorious had not Jalal Khan Julwani arrived just then to assist Sher Shah with fresh contingent.[4] Now Sher Shah continued the battle with renewed vigour and after the Rajput nobles were killed[5] the Marwar army was utterly routed. Sher Shah had defeated the Marwar forces, but frankly admitted,

1. Nensi, II, p. 158; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 71; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 53; Abbas Sarwani, p. 140; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 957; *Vir Vinod*, p. 910; Qanungo, pp. 329-30; Ojha, I, pp. 303-4; Reu, I, p. 130; Asopa, p. 135; Maharajkumar, p. 30; Tripathi, p. 125.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 71; Nensi (A) I, p. 207; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 53; Tod, p. 957; *Vir Vinod*, p. 910; Ojha, I, p. 506, f. n. 2; Reu, I, pp. 129-30; Asopa, pp. 134-35; Maharajkumar, pp. 30-31. Contemporary Persian authorities have also mentioned a pitched battle between Sher Shah and the nobles of Marwar after Maldeo's retreat. Abbas, p. 140; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 157; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 172, f. n. 4; Ferishta, II, p. 122.
3. Badaoni, II, p. 478; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 172.
4. Ferishta, II, p. 122; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 71; Erskine, II, p. 438.
5. While *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 72 and *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 53 give the number of the Rajputs killed in this battle at 2,000, *Tabaqat* (p. 172) gives their number as 11,000, besides a very large number of Afghans slain from Sher Shah's side.
   Among those who thus died fighting in this momentous battle against Sher Shah there was at least one from each of the important branches of the Rathors.
   According to *Jodhpur Rajya-ki-Khyat*, Vol. I, pp. 71-72, following nobles of Maldeo fell fighting in the battle of Samel.

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"For a handful of millet I would have lost the Empire of Hindustan[1]," which amply shows how narrowly he escaped from disaster. But for the success of the stratagem played by Sher Shah on Maldeo, it would not have been possible for him to gain victory over the entire army of Maldeo.

Thus, it is obvious that the gains from even this hard-won victory were by no means appreciable. But in the history of the Delhi Sultanate and also of India this battle of Samel was a decisive one because it enabled the Sur dynasty to continue its rule for another decade and more.

Once the battle was over, Sher Shah sent some forces towards Jodhpur to pursue Maldeo[2] while he sent another force against Ajmer.[3] He himself returned to Merta via Ajmer and after occupying it he gave Merta to Biram Deo. At the same time Sher Shah restored Bikaner to Kalyan Mal.[4] Therefore, he went to Nagore where too the Rajput rule was ended.[5] From Nagore Sher Shah proceeded against Jodhpur.[6]

On leaving the Marwar forces at Girri Maldeo proceeded first to Jodhpur[7] but soon after deemed it essential to leave Jodhpur and pro-

1. Jeto Panchynot, 2. Kumpa Mehrajot, 3. Udaisingh Jetawat, 4. Jetsi Udawat, 5. Panchayan Karamsiyot, 6. Khiwa Udawat of Jaitaran, 7. Jago Rawal, 8. Rathor Surtan Gangawat, 9. Patta Kanawat, 10. Bairsi Ranawat, 11. Bhojraj Panchayanot, 12. Bida Bharmalo, 13. Raimal, 14. Harmo Sihwat, 15. Bhado Panchayanot, 16. Niba, 17. Manidass, 18. Jaimal Bida, 19. Jaitsi Raghawat, 20. Hardas Khangarot, 21. Mahesh Dedawat, 22. Songara Bhilraj, 23. Harpal Jodhawat, 23. Bhatti Mera, 25. Songara Akhyaraj, 26. Hamirot, 27. Bhatti Panchayan Jodhawat, 28. Bhagrur Pattawat, 29. Bhara Ganga Barajagot, 30. Hamir Lakhawat, 31. Natha Dadawat, 32. Madhodass, 33. Niba Pattawat, 34. Sankhala Dungarsi 35. Deora Akhairaj, 36. Mangalia Hema Nibawat, 37. Jaimal Bidawat, 38. Bhanmal Bajawat, etc.

1. Abbas Sarwani, Elliot, IV, p. 406; Badaoni, II, p. 476; Briggs, II, p. 123.
2. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 158; Ojha, I, p. 308.
3. *Tarikh-i-Daudi* is the only Persian authority which mentions Sher Shah's visit to Ajmer. It says that Sher Shah came to Ajmer and paid a visit to Dargah Khawaja Sahib.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 72; Ojha, I, p. 309; Reu, I, p. 131.
5. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 158.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 72; Ojha, I, p. 308.
7. *Tabaqat*, II, p. 172; Nensi, II, p. 168; Qanungo, p. 331; Ojha, I, p. 308; Reu, I, p. 130; Asopa, I, p. 136; Maharajkumar, p. 31.

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ceeded towards the mountainous region of Piplod[1] near Siwana, where he marked time for a suitable opportunity to overthrow Sher Shah's rule from Marwar.

Sher Shah, however, conquered Jodhpur by the end of January 1544[2] and stayed there for some time[3] to reorganise administration there. He established a *thana* at Bhangasar and provided a force of about 5,000 horsemen[4] there. Thereafter entrusting the affairs of Marwar to Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niyazi[5], Sher Shah returned to Ajmer and thence marched towards Chitore.[6] He, "In Rajputana," says Dr. Qanungo, "made no attempt to uproot the local chiefs or to reduce them through subjection, as he had done in other parts of Hindustan. He found the task dangerous as well as fruitless. He did not aim at the complete subversion of their independence."[7] Consequently, no sooner Sher Shah's death was known Maldeo re-

1. Abbas Sarwani, p. 140; Nensi, II, p. 159; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p, 53; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 72; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 13; *Vir Vinod*, p. 811; Ojha, I, p. 308; Reu, I, p. 131; Asopa, p. 135; Qanungo, p. 331.
   Following nobles of Marwar were with Maldeo when he left Jodhpur for Piplod :—
   (i) Rathor Jesso, (ii) Rathor Mahesh, (iii) Rathor Jaitsi-Bhaghawat, (iv) Rao Ram of Phalodi, (v) Jaimal of Bikaner (see *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 72; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 55).
2. Maharaj Kumar, p. 31.
   When Sher Shah attacked the fort of Jophpur one Triloksi was holding the fort for Maldeo (*vide*, Nensi, II, p. 159; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 73).
3. The period of his stay at Jodhpur has been variously described in the Khyats for four months (Nensi, II, p. 158) while according to *Jodhpur Khyat*, he stayed at Jodhpur for full one year *vide*, I, p. 73; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 56 and *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 13). It appears quite probable that Sher Shah did not stay for a long time at Jodhpur.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 73; *Kaviraja Khyat*, I, p. 56; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 13; Ojha, I, p. 310.
5. Abbas Sarwani, p. 140; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 55; A. L. Srivastava, p. 53.
6. Abbas Sarwani, p. 140; *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, p. 158; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 172, f. n. 2; Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 152; G. N. Sharma, p. 61; Maharajkumar, p. 31; A. L. Srivastava, p. 53; Qanungo, p. 331.
7. Qanungo, p. 133.

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turned from his refuge in Siwana and easily reconquered the fort of Jodhpur[1] and occupied the *thana* of Bhangasar.[2]

Maldeo took full advantage of the confusion and disorder which prevailed at Delhi and Agra after the death of Sher Shah. The weak successors of Sher Shah were continually waging war against each other which greatly reduced the authority of the Delhi Sultanate.[3] Thus, Maldeo got excellent opportunity to eliminate successfully all possible forces of the Afghan rule in Marwar within a very short time after Sher Shah's death.

Having once again established his supremacy and rule in Jodhpur he re-embarked on the old policy of expansion. Now he annexed Pokaran from Kanha in the year 1550[4] and also sent a force to attack Hamir, the Bhatti Chief of Phalodi.[5] Later in the year 1552 he sent his Diwan Pancholy Netsi with a large army to attack Jaisalmer. Thus the Rawal of Jaisalmer was also forced to pay tribute to Maldeo.[6] In the same year he embarked on the conquest of the fort of Jalor as the Bihari Pathans under Malik Khan recaptured it. But he had entrenched himself there so strongly that Maldeo

1. Nensi, II, p. 160; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 73-74; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, pp. 56-57; *Bankidass Khyat*, I, p. 13; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, p. 310; Reu, I, p. 132; Asopa, p. 136; A. L. Srivastava, p. 53.
   Maldeo recovered Jodhpur by the end of July 1545.

2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 73; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 56; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 13; Ojha, I, p. 310; Reu, I, p. 312.
   According to *Jodhpur Khyat*, the fort of Jodhpur remained in the possession of Sher Shah for just 524 days, *vide*, I, p. 74.
   The inscription of Islam Shah, Sher Shah's successor, from Kumbhalmir (Mewar), published by Prof. D. C. Sarkar in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, is silent on the point.

3. Erskine, II, p. 461; *Cambridge History*, II, p. 66; see also *Successors of Sher Shah* by N. B. Roy; A. L. Srivastava, pp. 126-27; Tripathi, pp. 157-60.

4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 75; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 58; Ojha, I, p. 311; Reu, I, p. 133; Asopa, p. 136; Maharajkumar, p. 32.

5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 75; Tod, II, p. 955; Ojha, I, p. 312; Reu, I, p. 133; Asopa, pp. 136-37.
   Phalodi fell into the hands of Maldeo about the year 1562 (*vide*, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, XII a 916, p. 91).

6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 74; Ojha, I, pp. 312-13; Reu, p. 117; The Rawal of Jaisal mer was also forced to pay tribute in the year 1552 (*vide*, Maharajkumar, p.32).

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could not dislodge him.[1] After his restoration at Merta, Biram did not live long. He died in 1553 and just then once again Maldeo occupied Merta.[2] But this time Maldeo could not possibly retain it long under his rule, because before long with the help of Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, Biram's son and successor Jaimal drove out the Marwar forces from Merta and established his own control over it.[3]

But now Maldeo was growing old and his zeal and energy were on the decline. Continuous warfare had greatly exhausted his resources as well as forces. Hence, after having once again regained his former possessions from the control of Sher Shah's successors Maldeo did not make any further effort to extend his boundaries at the expense of the Delhi Sultanate.

Thus when Humayun finally returned to India in 1555 he found that once formidable Maldeo had lost much of his strength and drive. The situation in Rajasthan was most favourable to him. The whole of Rajasthan was divided into many small and weak principalities. Maldeo was not trusted by any of his neighbours lest he might try to overpower them; and there was no one else strong or eminent enough to lead any confederacy of these Rajput rulers. Hence, while Maldeo became thus isolated all others remained disunited and possibilities of Rajasthan ever resisting the Mughal domination did not exist.

But after his return to India Humayun did not live long and it was left to his young son Akbar, then aged only 13, to undertake the subjugation of Marwar to the Mughal supremacy a couple of years after his accession.

Thus while immediately after his accession Akbar was busy elsewhere one of the slaves of Sher Shah Sur named Haji Khan moved from Mewar to Ajmer.[4] He conquered Ajmer and Nagore which

1. *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, p. 74; Ojha, I, p. 314; Reu, I, pp. 135-36; Maharajkumar, p. 32.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 74; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 59; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 13; Tod, II, p. 958; Ojha, I, pp. 315-17; Reu, I, pp. 134-36; Asopa, p. 138.
3. Merta was recaptured by Jaimal on 4 April, 1554, (*vide*, *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 74). Also see *Chaturkulcharitra*, I, pp. 48-49).
4. *AN*, II, pp. 71-72; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 14; Elliot, VI, p. 21; Ojha, I, p. 38; Reu, I, p. 136; Asopa, p. 318.

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were then under Maldeo. The Rathor Chief (Maldeo) despatched a contingent under Thakur Devidass Jetawat of Bagari against Haji Khan in the year 1556. At this time Rana Udai Singh of Mewar came to the help of Haji Khan and Kalyan Mal of Bikaner also sent his forces to help the Pathan against Maldeo. The Marwar army was forced to withdraw[1] as Devidas, commander of the Marwar contingent, found himself too weak to face the combined forces of Haji Khan, Udai Singh and Khan Mal. The combined forces were necessarily too strong for him to risk a battle. But soon after there was a serious quarrel between Rana Udai Singh and Haji Khan because of Rana's demand for one of Haji Khan's dancing girls. Haji Khan thereupon approached Maldeo for military aid aginst Udai Singh.[2]

Maldeo could not possibly miss such an opportunity and readily agreed to render help to the Pathan. The Rathor contingent under Devidas Rathor now joined Haji Khan and in the ensuing battle of Harmada on 24 January 1557 the combined forces of Marwar and Merta were defeated.[3] Rana Udai Singh and his ally Jaimal of Merta fled from the battlefield.[4] The Marwar contingent under Devidas pursued Jaimal up to Merta and finally captured the fort of Merta on 27 January 1557.[5] Thus, after the battle of Harmada

1. Nensi (A), I, p. 60; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 14; Elliot, V, pp. 21-22; Devi Prasad. *Akbarnama*, pp.98-99; Ojha, I, p. 318; Reu, I, p. 136; Asopa, p. 139; Sarda, *Ajmer*, p. 152; Maharajkumar, p. 34.
2. Nensi (A), I, p. 61; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 76; *Mewar-ka-Itihas*, f. n. 159 (a); *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 14; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, p. 319; Reu, I, p. 136; Asopa, p. 139.
3. *AN*, II, p. 72; Nensi (A), I, pp. 61-62; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p . 76; *Kaviraja Khyat*, I, p. 99; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 14; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, pp. 319-20; Reu, I, pp. 136-37; Asopa, p. 139.
   When the battle of Harmada was fought Maldeo was encamped at Jaitaran (See *Jodhpur Khyat* & *Kaviraja Khyat*).
   Harmada is situated in 74° 56′ E. and 26° 42′ N., about 2 m. North of Tiloniya Rly. Station between Phulera Jn. and Kishangarh Rly. Station on the Western Rly.
   Asopa, p. 139; Maharajkumar, p. 34.
4. Nensi (A), I. pp. 61-62; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 14; *Kaviraja Khyat*, I, p. 99; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 14; *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 71; Ojha, I, p. 320; Reu, I, p. 137; Asopa, p. 139; Maharajkumar, p. 34.
5. Nensi (A), I, p. 62; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 76; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 15; *Chaturkul-charitra*, I, pp. 52-53; Ojha, I, p. 320; Reu, I, p. 137.

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the Suzerainty of Maldeo was finally established over Merta and it subsequently became a part of the Jodhpur territory. Taking advantage of these internecine wars among the Rajput rulers Qasim Khan, the Mughal Subahdar of Ajmer, sent Mughal forces under Sayyid Mahmud Baraha and Shah Quli Khan to invade Jaitaran.[1] Ratansi Udawat, the Chief of Jaitaran, requested Maldeo for help. But as Maldeo's relations with the Udawat chief, Jaitaran, were not friendly, he did not render any aid to Ratansi.[2] Consequently, Jaitaran was conquered by the Mughal forces on 12 March 1558.[3]

In the year 1562 Akbar proceeded to Ajmer. On his way there when he was encamped at Sambhar, Jaimal of Merta sought the help of Akbar against Maldeo[4] who had previously conquered and annexed Merta to Marwar. The shrewd Emperor did not miss this opportunity and sent forces to help Jaimal in taking back Merta from Maldeo. It is difficult to assert that in doing so Akbar was in any way swayed by his desire to avenge his father's insult at the hands of Maldeo. Anyway Akbar had decided to intervene in the Rajasthan affairs and sending Mirza Sharfu-d-din Hussain to the aid of Jaimal was just the beginning. Mirza was accompanied by many other important officers and a suitable force. Jagmal and Devidas were then holding the fort of Merta for Maldeo.[5] The conquest

1. *AN*, II, p. 72; Nensi (A), I, p. 62; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 76; *Akbarnama*, Deviprasad, p. 99; Ojha, I, p. 321; Reu, I, p. 138; Asopa, pp. 139-40; Maharajkumar, p. 35.

2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 76-77; Reu, I, p. 138.

3. Nensi (A), I, p. 62; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 76-77; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, p. 322; Reu, I, p. 138; Asopa, p. 140; Maharajkumar, p. 35.
The conquest of Jaitaran was the first success of Imperial forces in Marwar.

4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 77; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 15; Ojha, I, p. 322, f. n. 2; Reu, I, p. 138; Asopa, p. 140; Maharajkumar, p. 34.

5. *AN*, II, p. 248; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 259; Badaoni, II, p. 46; Ferishta, II, p. 208; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p. 173; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 77; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, pp. 322-23; Reu, I, p. 139; Asopa, p. 140.
Mirza was accompanied by Shah Pedagh Khan, his son Abd-ul-Mutlab Khan (Badaoni, II, p. 45), besides Md. Hussain Shaikh (See *Tabaqat*, II, p. 259). The author of *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* informs that Tarsum-Mohammad Khan was appointed alongwith the officers mentioned above (see p. 173). *Bankidass Khyat* (p. 15) also mentions that Mirza Sharfuddin was the Commander of the Mughal force.

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of Merta by Mirza Sharfu-d-din Hussain has been thus graphically described by Abul Fazl :—

".....Without hesitation the soldiers advanced to the foot of the fortress. The garrison crept into the fort out of fear and did not venture to come out. Meanwhile four champion horsemen of the army, advanced to the foot of boldness and discharged some arrows towards the gate of the fortress. Suddenly the Rajputs came out on the walls. They made the battlements their sheilds and discharged confusedly bricks, stones, arrows and bullets and also boiling oil..... Mirza Sharfu-d-din and the other officers saw wisdom in proceeding slowly and so they established themselves in the city of Merta and put stations here and there.....The erected batteries according to proper rules, and drove mines on various sides of the fort....At length, a mine which had been carried upto under the tower was filled with gunpowder and set fire to. The tower fell to pieces like cotton .....The heroes of the fortune's army got an open road for battle and rushed on..."[1]

After much deliberation and consultation it was agreed that the Rajputs should quit the fort leaving behind all their property.[2] Jagmal left the fort as per agreement. But Devidass perversely set fire to his property and audaciously came in front of the Mughal army with his 400 or 500 horsemen.[3] Jaimal, Lunkaran and others now with the Mughal army had an old quarrel with the garrison, and they successfully persuaded Mirza Sharfu-d-din not to let Devidass escape unchastised. Hence, a battle was fought somewhere between Sagawas and Marta between Devidass and the Mughals.[4] Mirza Sharfu-d-din was in the centre of the army while Jaimal, Lunkaran and Suja with their Rajputs were on the right side of Mirza." A great fight took place, writes Abul Fazl, "which bore on its face a mark of the story of Rustam".[5] Devidas fell from his horse, his

1. *AN*, II, pp. 248-249.
2. *AN*, II, p. 249; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 259; Badaoni, II, p. 46; Ferishta, p. 209; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, p. 324; Reu, I, p. 319.
3. Badaoni and Nizam-ud-din have confused Jagmal with Jaimal (*vide*, *Tabaqat*, II, p. 259; Ranking, II, p. 46).
4. *AN*, II, pp. 249-50; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 259; Badaoni, II, p. 46; Ferishta, II, p. 209; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 77; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, p. 324; Reu, I, p. 140.
5. *AN*, II, p. 250.

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companions escaped half dead from the battlefield and the fortress of Merta thus finally passed to the hands of the imperial servants.[1]

After the acquisition of Merta Akbar began to take active interest in the affairs of Rajasthan, which ultimately resulted in the gradual establishment of Mughal authority over Rajasthan in general and Marwar in particular. The reasons which induced Akbar to take active interest in the affairs of Rajasthan may be summed up as under :—

(i) The story of his father's expulsion from Hindustan and the advice given to the late Emperor by the Shah of Persia[2] had induced him to take active interest in the affairs of Rajasthan.

(ii) "In the early years of his reign he (Akbar) was actuated by love of territory, power and wealth".[3] Therefore, his decision to reduce and annex the various principalities of Rajasthan was for the extension of his dominions.

(iii) Economic necessity also compelled him to take active interest in the affairs of Marwar. To secure his route to Gujrat, and Malwa via Marwar, Akbar wanted to bring under his sway the various strongholds of the principality of Marwar. Without having captured the strongholds of Merta, Nagore, Siwana and Jodhpur, Akbar could not have possibly found peaceful passage to Gujrat and beyond Gujrat to the sea.

(iv) The rebellion of Bairam Khan had also attracted Akbar's attention towards Nagore and the neighbouring State of Marwar. During his rebellion Bairam Khan had sought shelter at Nagore for some time.[4]

1. *AN*, II, p. 250; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 259; Badaoni, II, p. 46; Ferishta, II, pp. 209-10; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 77; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812; Ojha, I, p. 324; Reu, I, p. 140; Asopa, p. 140.

   Merta was annexed by the Imperial forces in the year 1562 (*AN*, II, pp. 249-50; *Vir Vinod*, p. 812).

2. According to the author of *Dhakhirat-at-Khawanin* (p. 104) Humayun was told by the Shah of Persia that 'unless you subdue the Rajputs it will be very difficult in India.' So, Humayun advised his son and successor Akbar, to win over the Rajputs if he fails to subdue them. But this sounds apocryphal.

3. A. L. Srivastava, *A Short History of Akbar the Great*, p. 19.

4. Badaoni, II, p. 34; *Tabaqat*, II, pp. 240-43; Elliot, V, p. 265; Elphinstone, p. 433.

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(v) Akbar's extreme devotion towards Shaikh Salim Chisti brought him once a year to Ajmer. Naturally, therefore, he might have been induced to keep Ajmer and neighbouring territory permanently under his immediate control.

Thus, it is clear that Akbar was interested in the permanent annexation of Ajmer, Merta and the neighbouring territory of Jodhpur. Hence, Merta, Ajmer and the neighbouring districts were permanently brought under the Mughal rule. But the rapid success had turned the head of Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain who now rebelled against the authority of Akbar. On learning about the same Akbar decided to take action against Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and deputed Hussain Quli Khan not only to put down Mirza but also to ensure the recently acquired territories are not lost to the Mughal Empire.[1] Hussain Quli Khan now pursued Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain and not only occupied his fief but also captured the important forts of Ajmer and Merta.[2]

After putting down the rebellion of Mirza Sharfuddin Hussain Akbar began to think of conquering the fort of Jodhpur, 'which was the strongest fort in that Country'. Maldeo, however, was spared from the degradation of being forced to submit to the mighty Mughal Emperor for long before Akbar could arrange to send his forces against the fort of Jodhpur, Maldeo died (at Jodhpur) on 7 November 1562.[3] Thus ended the eventful reign and career of Maldeo who has rightly been described in the Persian Chronicles as 'the most potent prince in Hindustan.'

He was really the most powerful ruler of his times[4] and his state was then definitely the biggest state in Rajasthan. 'He departed

1. *AN*, II, pp. 303-4; Ferishta, II, p. 213; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 273; Tripathi, p. 189. Hussain Quli Khan was appointed in October 1562, as successor of Sharfuddin Hussain Mirza (*vide*, Tripathi, p. 189).
2. *AN*, II, pp. 304-5; Ferishta, II, pp. 213-14; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 273; Tripathi, p. 189.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 68; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 18; *Vir Vinod*, p. 813; Ojha, I, p. 325; Reu, I, p. 141; Asopa, p. 141; Maharajkumar, p. 44.
   Hence, the year of his death (V. S. 1625 or A. D. 1569) as given by Tod is not acceptable (*vide*, Tod, II, p. 959).
4. *Surajprakash*, p. 26 :

   हाक जिण श्रांण सुण हिरण खौडा हुवै

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from this world in time to preserve his own honour untarnished.' No doubt his later days were a dismal contrast to his earlier years which witnessed his conquest in almost every part of Rajasthan, yet we have to admit that he 'maintained Rajput independence against rising power of the Mughals'.[1] All this leads us to conclude that he was the 'most valiant and energetic Rajput ruler of his time'.

Besides being a warrior Maldeo was also a diplomat. He took full advantage from the Afghan-Mughal rivalry and his attitude of indifference and inhospitality towards fugitive Humayun was certainly dictated by the need of the time and was in the interest of stability and security of his own dominions. He fully believed in the policy of expansion and consolidation of his own State.

The policy of Maldeo, which necessarily earned for him the high sounding title of the 'biggest ruler of his times' proved quite harmful for Marwar in the long run. He could not possibly keep Biram Deo and Jaimal of Merta and Jaitsi and Kalyan Mal of Bikaner satisfied resulting in the everlasting enmity of these two houses with the State of Marwar, which necessarily exposed Marwar to Muslim attacks more than once. Thus, the hazardous ambitious conquests of Maldeo made him for once even lose the kingdom of Jodhpur in the battle of Samel. But towards the end of his career he acted wisely by not playing the role of an over-ambitious diplomat when Jaitaran was attacked and annexed by the Mughal forces.

Thus, lack of farsightedness on the part of Maldeo resulted in complete rupture of his relations with the houses of Merta and Bikaner which ultimately brought the Muslim support to the enemies of Maldeo and made the ultimate Mughal conquest of Jodhpur and Siwana not only possible but also easier. Notwithstanding his lack of foresight, one must give him credit for the expansion of the State of Marwar during his reign. His reputation as a first rate warrior did not necessarily suffer for his refusal to engage his forces in the battle of Samel. The bardic chronicles of Marwar rightly extol him as the Victor of 52 battles.[2]

1. *Rathor Vanshavali* :

पाट गंग नृप भाल — प्रकट ताडैण तुरकांणां ।
सुरतांणां उर साल — ढाल जाहर हिंद बांणां ॥

2. *Rathor Vanshavali*, f. 12, verse 10; Reu, I, p. 142.

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Thus, he was the one prince of the Jodhpur house under whom Marwar not only expanded most but retained its independence also, though circumstances were greatly adverse to the same.

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CHAPTER FOUR

Akbar and Rao Chandrasen
Imperialism versus Local Independence
(1562-1581)

RAO CHANDRASEN, 'the forgotten hero' of Marwar[1], was installed upon the *gadi*, after the death of his father, Rao Maldeo, on 31 December 1562 in accordance with the wishes of the late Rao.[2]

There was no law of primogeniture in Marwar, yet the tradition was that the eldest son should succeed and it was very rarely that the claim of the eldest born was set aside. Absence of this law gave rise to family feuds resulting in occasional civil wars among the descendants of Maldeo. Chandrasen's elder brothers, Ram and Udaisingh, who

1. Maldeo nominated Chandrasen as his successor by superceding the claims of his elder sons, Ram and Udaisingh. This led to eternal rivalry between the two brothers. Hence, after the death of Chandrasen when Udaisingh succeeded as the Raja of Jodhpur the wards in order to please Udaisingh and his descendants intentionally avoided the narrative of Chandrasen in the bardic chronicles of Marwar. Thus, Chandrasen's name and his heroic deeds were kept in oblivion.

2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 85; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 67; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 20; Ojha, I, p. 85; Reu, I, p. 148; Asopa, p. 143; and Maharajkumar, p. 44.
According to the *Khyats* Chandrasen was the third son of Maldeo. But he was nominated as his successor by his father in his own life-time.
So, after Maldeo's death Chandrasen was called from Siwana to ascend the *gadi* of Marwar (*vide*, *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 85 and *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 20). The date of his accession as given in the *Kaviraja Khyat* is 7 November 1562, the day Maldeo breathed his last. This date was probably adopted in order to show that there was no interregnum.

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were deprived of the right of succession by Maldeo himself, rebelled against him at Sojat and Gagani respectively. Chandrasen sent a force from Jodhpur to subdue his rebel brothers. Ram and Raimal, brothers of Rao Chandrasen, created trouble in Sojat and Dunada respectively. Both of them dared not face the armies of Chandrasen and fled away.[1] Udai Singh, however, fought a battle with the army of Chandrasen at Lohawat in December 1562.[2] After his victory over Udai Singh at Lohawat Chandrasen sent his forces against Ram. A battle was fought at Nadol in the year 1563 with Ram.[3] When Ram saw no chances of his success he fled from the field and went to Hussain Quli Beg, the Imperial *Hakim* at Nagor. These wars weakened the position of the Rathor principality at such a critical time when the Mughal power under Akbar was fast rising and the Mughal Emperor had already cultivated friendly relations with the hostile neighbours of the State of Marwar. According to *Khyats*[4] Hussain Quli Beg invaded Jodhpur at the instigation of Ram. But he did not succeed and the fort could not be captured.[5] Conquest of Marwar was incomplete without the occupation of the Fort of Jodhpur. Important forts of Marwar such as Merta and Nagore were already in the hands of the Mughals. So, the conquest of the Fort of Jodhpur was a political necessity for the Mughals. Forts of Merta and Nagore, which are aptly called the gates of Marwar, were used as bases of operation. Thus, when in the 8th regnal year of Akbar's reign the Mughal forces under the command of Hussain Quli Beg laid a siege to the fort of

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 86; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 67; Ojha, I, p. 333; Reu, I, p. 148.

2. *Jodhpnr Khyat*, I, p. 86; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 67; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 20; Ojha, I, p. 334; Reu, I, p. 184.

   Details of the warriors of both the sides who fought to their last in the battle are preserved in a contemporary document in the Archives Office at Bikaner. Lohawat is situated at 72° 5′ N. and 27° E. about 16 miles S-W. of Phalodi.

3. *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 813-14; Reu, I, p. 14.

4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 86; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 68; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21. Also see Reu, I, p. 149.

5. This invasion of Jodhpur has not been mentioned in *Akbarnama*, *Ain-i-Akbari* or any other contemporary Persian authority. Further, the date of the siege as given in the *Khyats* comes to 1564, which causes further doubt about the anthenticity of this invasion.

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Jodhpur[1], Chandrasen was practically hammed up. As there was no provision left inside the fort for his army and there was no hope also for getting any help from outside Chandrasen relinquished the fort of Jodhpur and secretly managed to reach Bhadrajun.[2] Annexation of the fort of Jodhpur crippled the dominions of Rao Chandrasen. Now only the Southern part of Marwar remained in his possession while all important forts and the territory round about Jodhpur passed into the hands of the Mughals.[3] Thus, the family feuds among the sons of Maldeo paved the way for the easier Mughal penetration in Marwar. Jodhpur remained in the possession of the Mughals for about two decades till it was restored to Mota Raja Udaisingh by Akbar in 1583.

Henceforth commenced the days of vicissitudes of Chandrasen. He passed first six years of his exile with great difficulty. He was forced to sell the precious belongings of Maldeo.[4] The gradual deterioration of his economic condition forced him to find ways and means to regain Jodhpur. The opportunity came when Akbar personally came to Nagore in the year 1570 to see the consolidation of his newly acquired territory. Chandrasen lost no time and went from Bhadrajun to Nagore and attended the Mughal Court.[5] It

1. *AN*, II, p. 305; *Ain.*, I, p. 349; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 87; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, pp. 68-69; *Bankidass Khyat*, II, p. 21; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, pp. 333-36; Reu, I, pp. 150-51; Asopa, p. 144.
   According to the *Khyats* of Marwar Jodhpur was relinquished by Chandrasen in Dec. 1565 (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 87; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, pp. 68-69; and *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21). But Abul Fazl specifically mentions conquest of the fort of Jodhpur in the 8th regnal year (1563-64) of Akbar's reign (See *AN*, II, p. 305). Hence, the date given by Abul Fazl has been accepted as generally dates in the *Khyats* are 'demonstrably inaccurate'.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 87; Ojha, I, p. 355; Reu, I, p. 150; Asopa, p. 144; Maharajkumar, p. 45.
3. Maharajkumar, p. 10.
4. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 140; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 69; *Vir Vinod*, II, p. 328, f. n. 1; Ojha, I, p. 357.
5. *AN*, II, p. 518; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 362; Ferishta, II, p. 234; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, p. 338; Reu, I, p. 151; Asopa, pp. 144-45; Maharajakumar, p. 48.
   It is claimed by Pandit Ram Karan Asopa (*Marwar-ka-Mool Itihas*, p. 144) that Akbar invited Chandrasen on this occasion. But the learned historian has not quoted any authority in support of his contention. Hence, in the absence of any contemporary evidence, it cannot be accepted that Chandrasen attended the Court as an invitee of the Mughal Emperor.

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appears Chandrasen went to attend Akbar's court with the hope of making an end of his wretched condition. When he reached Nagore and attended Akbar's Court Rawal Harrai of Jaisalmer and Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner were already there.[1] His elder brother Udaisingh also came from Phalodi.[2] It appears that Chandrasen and Udaisingh came with the object of getting Jodhpur back from the Mughal Emperor. The *Khyats* of Marwar record that Chandrasen left the Mughal court sometime after his arrival at Nagore. We do not get any clue in the contemporary chronicles for deducing the causes of Chandrasen's sudden withdrawal from the Mughal court. Contemporary Persian writers make no mention of the sudden withdrawal of Chandrasen from Nagore. The *Khyat* writers have given a plea, which apparently strikes as fantastic. According to them, Chandrasen was forced to quit the Mughal court as the Emperor taunted him by saying that as he (Chandrasen) is handsome he should not meet any black men lest his heart may be tarnished.[3] Chandrasen could not tolerate the language of the taunt and so he is reported to have left the Mughal court immediately. The story coined by the *Khyat* writers is later concoction. Abul Fazl informs us that when Chandrasen came to attend the Mughal Court at Nagore he was received with Royal favours.[4] Moreover, there is not a single occasion in Akbar's life when he is reported to have indulged himself in coarse jokes like the one recorded by the writers of Marwar *Khyats*. The very fact that Chandrasen left his son Raisingh at Nagore proves that Chandrasen did not leave the court because of such fantastic reasons.[5] There might have been other plausible reasons which induced Chandrasen to quit the Mughal Court. Such reasons may be summarised hereunder :—

(i) It appears that his more clever brother, Udaisingh, managed to gain the royal favour. Chandrasen saw in these favours the last hope of getting back Jodhpur receding abruptly towards infinite. Finding the upper hand of Udaisingh at the Mughal court he left

1. *AN*, II, p. 518.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21; Ojha, I, p. 38; Reu, I, p. 151, f. n. 1; Asopa, p. 145; Maharajkumar, p. 48.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 70,
4. *AN*, II, p. 518.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 70.

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the court but left his son, Raisingh, probably with the object of watching his interests.

(ii) It can also be conjectured that Udaisingh being the rival claimant to the *gadi* of Marwar surcharged the court atmosphere against Chandrasen. Chandrasen might have thus found himself in a very embarrassing position. Therefore, he left the Mughal court soon after his arrival there.

Events leading to Chandrasen's failure in his mission at Nagore compel us to conclude that by that time Akbar had chalked out a definite policy of his own for the Rajputs. Therefore, Chandrasen was disappointed to note that there was no chance for him to recover Jodhpur through Imperial favour. Hence, he left the Mughal camp and proceeded towards Bhadrajun.[1]

Here it is necessary to say a word about the Rajput policy of Akbar. The fundamentals of his policy towards the Rajputs may be summed up as under :—

(i) Taking full advantage of the succession quarrels Akbar started the policy of setting one party against another in the various recalcitrant States. Thus, the wise Emperor took advantage of the internecine feuds among the Rajputs themselves. Thereby, he tried to keep the Rajput Rajas under control.

(ii) Further to keep the Hindu Rajas under control Akbar started the practice of partitioning a kingdom or at least split off some bits as independent principalities. "By this device not only good old neighbours could be turned into deadly enemies, but also parallel branches of the same dynasty, each dreaming of reuniting the kingdom of their ancestors, could be played against each other."

(iii) Moreover, by this time the eager desire of creating a feudal society, in which the bonds of blood relationship formed the strongest source of political loyalty, had grown mature in Akbar's mind. Akbar

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 83; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 70; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, p. 338, f. n. 2; Reu, I, p. 151 and Asopa, p. 145.

Akbar's policy was not to occupy the capitals of the Rajput Rajas. But he wanted complete submission. As none of the three brothers (Ram, Udaisingh and Chandrasen) were then willing to offer unconditional surrender and to enter into matrimonial alliance, the Emperor did not restore Jodhpur in 1570.

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solemnized it by entering into matrimonial alliances with the Rajput States. He decided to encourage dynastic marriages like Henry VII of England. So, hands of the daughters of Rawal Har Rai of Jaisalmer and Kanha, brother of Rao Kalyan Mal of Bikaner, were accepted by the youthful emperor even at Nagore in the year 1570. The fathers, brothers, nephews and cousins of the Rajput princesses who were married to him or to his *Shahzadas* were appointed in influential posts. The bait of *mansab* was dangled before them which appeared more attractive to them than their own States. Easily by this device Akbar succeeded in detaching the Rajput princes from their traditional home-lands.

(iv) Akbar had already used the services of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber as his principal negotiator with the Rajput rulers of Jaisalmer and Bikaner. His principal aim was to foster the feeling of friendship and goodwill among the Rajput Rajas.

Thus, Akbar's visit to Nagore in the 15th regnal year of his reign[1] took him a long way in giving final shape to his policy which afterwards came to be known as his Rajput Policy. Henceforth, Akbar decided to treat as friends those Rajas who entered the fold of his policy of matrimonial alliances. He treated as his enemies those Rajput Rajas who tried to keep themselves away from this fold. During the formative period of his Rajput policy Akbar got a golden chance of making experiments in the land of Marwar. Immediately after Chandrasen's departure from Nagore Akbar assigned Samavalli to his rival Udaisingh.[2] He further tried to split up the kingdom of Maldeo by appointing Raisingh of Bikaner as the Administrator of Jodhpur.[3] Though Raisingh was appointed with the object of preventing Marwar and Gujrat from any harm from the side of Rana Pratap of Mewar[4],

1. *AN*, II, p. 518; Badaoni, II, p. 137; *Tabaqat*, II, pp. 361-62; Ferishta, II, p. 334; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 70; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, p. 237; Reu, I, p. 151; Asopa, pp. 144-45.
   Chandrasen attended the Court of Akbar on Jamadi-us-Sani 16, A. H. 978 (Nov., 15, 1570). See *AN*, II, p. 516; *Vir Vinod*, p. 114; Ojha, I, p. 337.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 88 and 97; Ojha, I, p. 338; Reu, I, p. 170 and Asopa, p. 151.
3. *AN*, III, p. 8; *Ain.*, I, p. 384; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 372; Badaoni, II, p. 144; Ferishta II, p. 235.
4. Badaoni, II, p. 144; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 372.
   Akbar wanted to set one house against another just to keep the Rajput Rajas under his control. This policy was followed by Sher Shah as well. Hence, Akbar need not be accused of the 'divide-and-rule' policy.

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yet it is to be admitted that appointment of Raisingh as the Administrator of Jodhpur was first of its kind in the history of Mughal India. The Rajput Rajas who till then believed in the theory of 'might is right' were made to realise by Akbar that kingdom is more or less a sort of gift which is bestowed from Raja to Raja by the supreme authority in lieu of the services rendered by the concerned Rajas. Thus Akbar gradually vested in himself the real authority to give recognition to a particular Raja after the death of his predecessor. Hereafter this became a regular practice. The conquest of the fort of Jodhpur was a prelude to Akbar's subsequent conquests in Rajasthan.

Akbar was a strong imperialist who had motives and plans, cited above. He felt that the stay of Kunwar Raisingh was not to serve his purpose. So, he sent Imperial forces to chastise his father, Rao Chandrasen, under the command of Khan Kalan to siege Bhadrajun[1], where Chandrasen was then residing. Chandrasen was no match in comparison to the mighty Mughal. He was already passing his days in a 'wretched condition'. So he did not think it wise on his part to offer resistance to the besieging army and managed his escape from Bhadrajun to Siwana after bribing the Imperial Commanders.[2] Thus Chandrasen evacuated Bhadrajun to pass the next four years of his exile in the fort of Siwana till the capture of the fort by Shahbaz Khan in the year 1576.[3] During these four years he is said to have looted the neighbouring areas of Asarlai and Bhinaya.[4] This he could do because at that time Akbar's attention was diverted towards Gujrat and Mewar and the Mughal Emperor had no time to look towards his undesirable activities. However, to keep a close watch on the movements of Chandrasen and to keep the road open and safe to

1. *AN*, III, p. 6; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 89; Ojha, I, p. 338; Reu, I, p. 151; Asopa, p. 146.

   According to Dr. Raghuvir Sinh, Chandrasen left Bhadrajun for Siwana on 14 Feb. 1571 (See *Purva Adhunik Rajasthan*, p. 48).

2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 89; Ojha, I, p. 338.

3. *AN*, III, pp. 237-38; *Arif Qandhari*, f. 200; Badaoni, II, pp. 188-89; *Tabaqat*, II, pp. 456-57; Briggs, II, p. 249; *Jodhpur Khyat*, p. 118; *Kaviraja Khyat*, p. 28, No. 268; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21; Ojha, I, pp. 342-46; Reu, I, pp. 152-57; Asopa, p. 146.

4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; Reu, I, pp. 151-52. Asarlai is 6 m. E. of Jaitaran.

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Gujrat, Akbar assigned Jodhpur to Raisingh of Bikaner in October 1572.[1]

The long rope given to Chandrasen emboldened him to come nearer to Jodhpur. He began to molest the Mughal officers of the area. There was a danger that he might have succeeded in re-installing his authority over there. So, when Akbar came to know that "he was causing harassment to the raiyyats in the neighbourhood of the fort of Jodhpur and Siwana", he appointed Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Shimal Khan, Raisingh, Kisu Dass, son of Jaimal of Merta[2], Taiyib Khan and Subhan Quli Khan to reduce the fortress of Siwana.[3] On the arrival of this army Chandrasen withdrew into the jungles leaving Patta Rathor in charge of the fort of Siwana.[4] On the way to Siwana the Imperial forces annexed Sojat as well from Kalla.[5] According to Abul Fazl, Sojat was invaded by the Imperial forces because Chandrasen took refuge with Kalla, son of Ram. The charge of expedition was entrusted to Shimal Khan.[6] The forces sent by Akbar could not quell the danger in a befitting manner. So, Raisingh being a faithful servant of the Empire reported to Akbar when he came to Ajmer in the year 1575, that some strong measures should be taken against Chandrasen so that Jodhpur be made free from his menace.[7] Akbar, thereupon, sent reinforcements to expedite the capitulation of Siwana under Jalal Khan.[8] Chandrasen withdrew from Raipur (Rampur of Abul Fazl) to the mountains of Kanuja.[9] He passed his days in a wretched condition. In the hot pursuit of

1. *AN*, III, p. 8; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 372; Badaoni, II, p. 144; Ferishta, II, p. 235; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 104; Ojha, I, p. 239; Maharajkumar, p. 50.
2. *AN*, III, p. 113.
3. *AN*, III, p. 113; Badaoni, II, p. 118; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 455; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; Ojha, I, p. 342; Reu, I, p. 152; Asopa, p. 146.
4. *AN*, III, p. 114; Badaoni, II, p. 188; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 455; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; Ojha, I, p. 343; Asopa, p. 146; Reu, I, p. 153; Maharajkumar, p. 52.
5. *AN*, III, p. 113; Ojha, I, p. 343; Reu, I, pp. 152-53; Asopa, p. 147.
6. *Ain.*, I, p. 531.
7. *AN*, III, p. 155.
8. *Tabaqat*, II, p. 456; Badaoni, II, p. 189; Ojha, I, pp. 344; Reu, I, p. 154.
9. *AN*, III, pp. 224-25; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; Ojha, I, pp. 343-44; Reu, I, p. 154.

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Chandrasen Jalal Khan Qurchi lost his life.[1] The position of Chandrasen's garrison in Siwana due to mountainous regions was sufficiently secure. The garrison could not be dislodged despite strenuous efforts made by Jalal Khan Qurchi and others. Moreover, Chandrasen had also posted a troop of faithful Rathors at Dunara. Thus, he had created a chain of forts and fortresses in the mountainous region of Godwad. By such devices the position of Siwana was made powerful.

In the 21st regnal year of his reign (1576-77) Akbar finally despatched a strong force under Mir Bakhshi Shahbaz Khan, 'to bring the thing to an end'.[2] When the Imperial forces under Shahbaz Khan were proceeding towards Siwana and just about to cross the river Luni the Rathor garrison in the stone fort of Dunara tried in vain to obstruct the onward march of the Mughal army. However, Shahbaz Khan reduced the fort of Dunara as well[3] and proceeded towards Siwana. *Sabats*[4] were constructed and the siege was pressed vigorously resulting in the surrender of the fort of Siwana by the Rathor garrison of Chandrasen. Thus, the last refuge of Rao Chandrasen of Marwar came under the control of Akbar by the end of March 1576.[5]

The conquests of the forts of Dunara and Siwana made Chandrasen a homeless wanderer. At the request of his Sardars he escaped to the hills of Piplod[6] where his father had also taken shelter after his retreat from Samel.

It is said 'misfortunes never come alone'. In Chandrasen's particular case the oft-quoted proverb came out literally true. When

1. *AN*, III, p. 225; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 456; Badaoni, II, p. 189; Ojha, I, p. 345; Reu, I, p. 156.
2. *AN*, III, p. 237; *Arif Qandhari*, f. 200; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 257; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; Ojha, I, p. 346; Reu, I, p. 156; Asopa, p. 146; Maharajkumar, p. 53.
3. *AN*, III, p. 238; Reu, I, p. 156; Maharajkumar, p. 53.
4. *AN*, III, p. 238.
   A Sabat is a kind of wall which is begun at musket shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks, strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides a kind of way is conducted to the fortress.
5. *AN*, III, p. 238; *Arif Qandhari*, f. 200; *Tabaqat*, II, p. 457; Ferishta, II, p. 249; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; *Kaviraja Khyat*, I, p. 31 & 56; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 21; Ojha, I, p. 346; Reu, I, p. 157; Asopa, p. 133; Maharajkumar, p. 56.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 118; Ojha, I, p. 347; Reu, I, p. 157.

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the Imperial forces under Shahbaz Khan were besieging the fort of Siwana, Rawal Har Rai of Jaisalmer who had accepted Akbar's suzerainty at Nagore in the year 1570, attacked Pokaran and after four months' siege dispossessed Pancholy Anand, the Commander of Chandrasen's garrison at Pokaran, from the fortress of Pokaran.[1]

Thus disappointed from all sides, Chandrasen left the mountains of Piplod for Sirohi.[2] From there he proceeded to the distant land of Dungarpur in order to be far away from the clutches of Mughals and also to get help from his brother-in-law, Rawal Askaran of Dungarpur.[3] The Mughal armies chased him up to Dungarpur. The fugitive Rao was forced to retire to Banswara.[4] Thereafter, Chandrasen came in the direction of Ajmer from Banswara. Here too he did not refrain himself from his plundering activities. So, in the year 1580 Payanda Khan, Sayyid Qasim and others were appointed by Akbar to punish him.[5] After his defeat at the hands of the Mughal army Chandrasen appears to have retired to the mountains of Saran where he met his end in the Siriari pass on 11 January 1581.[6]

Thus ended the life of the 'forgotten hero' of Marwar who watered the land of his birth by his own blood and the blood of his faithful followers in an attempt to maintain the local independence of Marwar against the rising power of the Mughals under Akbar. No doubt

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 89-90; Ojha, I, p. 347; Reu, I, p. 157.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 119; Ojha, I, p. 348; Reu, I, p. 158.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 119; *Vir Vinod*, p. 114; Ojha, I, p. 348; Reu, I, p. 158; Asopa, p. 147.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 119; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, p. 348; Reu, I, p. 158; Maharajkumar, p. 53.
5. *AN*, III, p. 466 ; Ojha, I, p. 349; Reu, I, p. 158.
6. According to the *hyats* Chandrasen recovered back Sojat from the Mughals in July 1580. (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 120; also see Ojha, I, p. 349; Asopa p. 147; Reu, I, p. 158).

   Saran Inscription on the Charti of Chandrasen commemorates his death in the mountains of Saran. After the capture of Siwana Chandrasen proceeded towards the Aravalli mountains where he met his end in the Siriari Pass near Saran. But according to *Jodhpur Khyat* (Vol. I, p. 121) Chandrasen was poisoned by one of his own nobles named Bairsal Rathor.
   Saran is situated in 73° 48′ E. and 23° 42′ N. about 4 m. N. of Goram Chat Rly. Station and 10 m. S-W. of Sojat Road Railway Station on the Western Railway.

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the policy of resistance offered by Chandrasen against the fast growing power of Mughal Empire proved harmful for the State of Marwar and the economic losses suffered by Jodhpur during these eighteen years of his so-called regime proved irreparable, yet his name must be written next to Rana Pratap of Mewar in the annals of Rajasthan for the formidable opposition offered by him to the mighty Mughal Empire.

The modern historians of Marwar, like Reu and Asopa[1], who attached more importance to the information supplied by the bardic chronicles of Marwar, have tried to place Chandrasen above Rana Pratap. But, apparently, this comparison has a breath of sentimentalism. No doubt Chandrasen and Pratap were contemporary rulers and were victims of the imperialist designs of Akbar, yet nothing was common in them but for the fact that both of them passed a major portion of their respective careers in exile. Their political ideologies differed much. Chandrasen could have gone to Akbar to attend his court in the year 1570, but Rana Pratap never attended the Mughal Emperor's court despite the fact that three Mughal generals, Bhagwan Dass, Mansingh and Todarmal, were sent one after the other to pursuade the Rana to accept Mughal suzerainty.[2] If Chandrasen had been offered the same opportunity by Akbar he would have perhaps gladly accepted the offer of peace. Chandrasen voluntarily moved to Nagore in the year 1570 to attend Akbar's court and to win over the imperial favours. Thereby he wanted to recover his lost capital and the principality of Marwar. Moreover, the life of Pratap, towards the close of his career, appears to be more successful for after strenuous warfare and wanderings he was able to establish his headquarters at Chawand which subsequently became the Capital of Mewar and remained safe from Mughal incursions.[3] But Chandrasen died the death of a dejected warrior who did not desist from looting as well. Further, Pratap was able to acquire most of his lost possessions excepting Mandal and Chitore[4] by the time he died. But Chandrasen could

1. Reu, I, pp. 161-66; Asopa, p. 145.
2. *AN*, III, pp. 14 and pp. 41-44; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, II, pp. 262 and 272; G. N. Sharma, pp. 89-90.
3. G. N. Sharma, p. 117.
4. *Rawal Sanaje ki Vat*, f. 107 (b); *Suryavansh*, f. 54 (b); *Tawarikh Vanshavali*, f. 19 (b); *Vanshavali Ranajiji*, f. 68 (b); and *Vir Vinod*, II, pp. 163-64.

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not recover the lost parts of his territories. However, Chandrasen being one of the members of the 'Rajput trio that defied Akbar's might' deserves a place above all other contemporary Rajas, next to Pratap only.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Marwar in Alliance with the Mughals
(1583-1595)

A. Mota Raja Udaisingh (1583-1595)

Rao Chandrasen's successor, who ascended the *gadi* of Marwar in August 1583[1], is known to the students of Indian history by his popular name of 'Mota Raja'.[2] According to the *Khyats*, Raisingh, eldest son of Chandrasen, who was in the service of the Mughal Emperor since 1570, came from Agra and ascended the *gadi* after the death of his father. But he could rule hardly for a couple of years and Sojat was the only district which was then under him.[3]

Marwar, with its capital Jodhpur was bestowed upon Udaisingh, elder brother of Chandrasen and a rival claimant for the *gadi* of Maldeo, in the year 1583.[4] He was given only one pargana of Sojat out of the Sarkar of Jodhpur.[5]

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 97; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 76; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Ojha, I, p. 354; Reu, I, p. 172; Asopa, p. 150.
2. He was extraordinarily fat. So, he was known by the name of 'Mota Raja' (See *Vir Vinod*, p. 816; Ojha, I, p. 355, f. n. 4). This is also corroborated by the paintings preserved in 'Pustak-Prakash', Jodhpur. The author of *Ajit Charitra* also confirms it (*vide*, p. 36):

   कीत्थां महत्था महत्ता वलैन -- कात्थां महत्था महतां सुच्चैन ।
   त्रियां महत्था वपुणौ महत्वाद मोटोति नाम वमव तस्य ॥
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 92-93; *Bankidass Khyat*, II, p. 22; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, p. 352; Reu, I, p. 167; Asopa, p. 149.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 97; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 76; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 22; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Tod, II, p. 965; Ojha, I, p. 354; Reu, I, pp. 171; Asopa, p. 150.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 97; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 76 and Asopa, p. 150.

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With the accession of Udaisingh the political history of Jodhpur enters into a new phase of increasing Mughal supremacy over Marwar. It has already been referred to that Udaisingh was disinherited by his father, Rao Maldeo. So he went to the Mughal Court and joined the service of the Mughal Empire in 1570. He got the opportunity of proving his worth as a warrior and commander of the forces in the expeditions against the Gujars of Samavalli and Raja Madhukar[1] Bundela. He joined these expeditions as an auxilary commander of the Mughal forces.[2]

Even after Chandrasen's death Udaisingh's right to the *gadi* of Marwar was not recognised by the nobles there. But when Jodhpur and its neighbouring territory was given to Udaisingh by the Mughal Emperor and thereafter he formally ascended the *gadi* at Jodhpur his title to the throne was not contested by anybody; not even by the descendants of Chandrasen. He was given the principality of Jodhpur, then known as the Sarkar of Jodhpur in the Mughal Suba of Ajmer, by the supreme authority, i.e., the Mughal Emperor. Hence, because of the fear of the backing of mighty Mughal Emperor there was no show of opposition at the time of his formal coronation at Jodhpur.[3]

Soon after his coronation Udaisingh's services were utilised by Emperor Akbar in the expedition against the rebellious vassals of Gujrat headed by Muzaffar Khan Gujrati. Muzaffar fled from the

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 79; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 23; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Ojha, I, pp. 338-355.
   According to Abul Fazl (*AN*, III, p. 295) Udaisingh, Raja Askaran and Ulugh Khan were sent against Raja Madhukar Bundela along with Sadiq Khan in the 22nd regnal year of Akbar's reign (i. e., the force was deputed in the year A. D. 1577-78). But *Maathir-ul-Umara* informs us that the expedition was sent in the 23rd regnal year (A. D. 1578-79) of Akbar's reign (see Vol., II, p. 915). As Abul Fazl, besides being a contemporary authority was also a court historian, so the date of this expedition as given by him has been accepted.
2. *AN*, III, p. 295; Devi Prasad, *Akbarnama*, p. 91.
3. Neither the *Khyat* nor the modern historians of Marwar have recorded any kind of opposition which Udaisingh might have at all faced at the time of his accession from the side of descendants of Rao Chandrasen. War of succession was a rule in Marwar. Henceforth, because of the supreme authority of the Mughal Emperors and the direct influence these Emperors had in recognising the rulers of Marwar, civil wars were not at all heard of in the history of Marwar following the accession of Udaisingh.

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field and Gujrat was annexed to the Mughal Empire.[1] Thereafter, the Mughal forces led by Udaisingh, Medini Roy and others proceeded in the direction of Cambay to subdue the rebellious vassal Daulat Khan Lodi. Daulat Khan was forced to flee from the battlefield.[2]

Hereafter, his services were utilised now and again by Emperor Akbar in the various other expeditions which he joined against the recalcitrant rulers of Rajasthan (the Rana of Udaipur and the Rao of Sirohi) and the rebellious Chiefs of the distant Mughal Subahs.

Udaisingh achieved his two-decade-old ambition by recovering the land of his ancestors, but with the help of the Mughal Emperor. In the hope of getting additional favours from the imperial throne, like the rulers of Amber and Bikaner, Udaisingh also decided to strengthen his friendly relations with Emperor Akbar by giving his daughter in marriage to the heir-apparent, Prince Salim. Therefore, he gave Jodh Bai[3] alias Jagat Gossain in marriage to Prince Salim.

1. *AN*, III, p. 631; *Tabaqat*, pp. 570-71; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 98; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 80; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 23; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Ojha, I, pp. 355-57; Reu, I, p. 172; Asopa, p. 151.
2. *AN*, III, pp. 655-56; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 80; Ojha, I, p. 358; Reu, I, p. 173.
3. There is a good deal of controversy about Jodh Bai. In spite of references about her in the contemporary Persian chronicles confusion has arisen between Man Mati of Amber, mother of Shahzada Salim, and Jodhbai of Jodhpur. Thus Jodh Bai has been mistakenly mentioned as Akber's wife by Tod and Mount-Stuart Elphinstone and the other English historians who followed them (See Elphinstone's *History of India*, Hindu & Mohammedan Period, 1857-edition, p. 441 and Tod, II, p, 965). She was in fact the daughter-in-law of the Emperor (See *AN*, I, p. 33 from *Tuzuk*, I, p. 34; Kamgar Hussain, f. 5 (b); *Dhakhtrat-al-Khwanin*, f. 39 (a); *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 915; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 103; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Ojha, I, p. 358). Further, there is a good deal of controversy about her ancestry. She has been wrongly mentioned as sister of Mota Raja Udaisingh in *Raj. Gaz.* (Vol. III, A.p. 58) and *Imp. Gaz.* (p. 175) while she was actually Udaisingh's daughter born to him by his principal queen Rani Manrang De of Gwalior (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 103; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 85; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 915; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Ojha, I, p. 358). Jodh Bai's pet name was Manibai. It appears after her marriage with Salim she came to be known as Jodh Bai, being Jodhpur princess, in the Mughal harem (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 103 and *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p.85). 'Jagat Gossain' appears to be her title which must have been conferred upon her by Jahangir. She lived up to Rabi-ul-akhir of the year A.H. 1028

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The marriage was solemnised at the bride's residence.[1] Immediately after this marriage Akbar bestowed a *mansab* of 1000 upon Udaisingh and the high sounding title of 'Raja' was also conferred upon him.[2] "This marriage," writes Dr. H. Geotz, "was purely a political affair, and Jodh Bai, not being the missionary of the ideology like Maryam-az-zamani, played no decisive role."[3] The marriage served very well the cause of the house of Marwar. Marwar's alliance would have broken down much earlier under the strain of growing religious estrangement if Jahangir and Shahjahan had not been bound by the bonds of blood relationship. Hence, after this marriage brothers and nephews of Princess Jodh Bai gradually gained confidence of their contemporary monarchs of Delhi. Naturally Mota Raja Udaisingh and his successors were recipients of Royal favours. With the indirect help of Royal backing only Udaisingh and his successors succeeded in reducing all powerful vassals of Marwar to obedience. Almost all the possessions of the Mertias and other recalcitrant nobles were resumed and the remaining were weakened. Moreover, the stream of wealth, which flew from Gujrat, Bijapur and Golkanda to Marwar also

(A.D. March 1619) [See *Tuzuk* (R and B), II, p. 84].

The controversy seems to have gained ground because of the two palaces in the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri and Agra which were constructed by Akbar. The palace of Jodh Bai in Fatehpur Sikri was constructed by Akbar as early as A.D. 1570 [See Smith, *Akbar*, p. 315; S. K. Banerjee, *Indian History Congress Proceedings Volume*, 1941, p. 377] while according to Jahangir himself (See his *Memories* translated in English by R and B, I, p. 19 or by Gladarin, p. iii) and *Ain-i-Akbari* (translated by Blochman, Vol. I, p. 619) Jodh Bai married to prince Salim in the year 1586-87. (Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 99; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 25; *Vir Vinod*, p. 814; Ojha, I, p. 358 and Beni Prasad *History of Jahangir*, 1940, p. 26). Hence, the early historians committed the blunder of describing Jodh Bai Palace of Fatehpur Sikri as the one built by Akbar as early as 1570 for one of his Rajput consorts of the same name. Tradition laid down by the ignorant tourist guides at Fatehpur Sikri also assigns this palace to Jodh Bai who according to them was Akbar's chief queen. But the contemporary history does not confirm the tradition. So it must be rejected to solve one of the important problems of Indian History.

1. *Jahangirnama*, f. 52 5 (b); *Dhakhirat-al-Khawanin*, p. 205 and *Umrai-i-Hanud*, p. 49, as quoted by Ojha.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 97; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Reu, I, p. 171; Asopa, p. 151.
3. Dr. H. Geotz's article, "The Rajput Empresses of Akbar and Jahangir" in *Sir J. N, Sarkar Commemoration Volume*, II, p. 131.

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enriched the barren plains of Jodhpur. The honour of being appointed to manage the affairs of Lahore, an important Mughal outpost, could not have been bestowed upon Mota Raja but for this marriage.

The marriage also secured for the Mughal Emperor the support of the Rathor Rulers of Marwar and their descendants. Akbar and his successors drew from among them some of the leading generals and counsellors, who not only won fresh lands for the Empire but also served as administrative officers in the distant Subahs of the Mughal Empire. Moreover, the task of subduing the Rajputs, who had been the mainstay of Hindu opposition throughout the Afghan rule in India, was lightened. By entering into matrimonial alliance with the Rajput Rajas, Akbar cultivated friendly relations with all of them; he won over the Rajputs to the Imperial cause. Thus, Akbar's policy of matrimonial alliances with the leading Rajput States of Rajasthan not only ensured the stability and security of Mughal Empire in India but also enhanced the prestige and dignity of the Rajas who gave their support to this policy which tended towards the fusion of two distinct religions—Hindu and Muslim. Hence, it is futile to think that "the name of Udai appears one of evil portent in the annals of Rajasthan".

Udasingh's action of giving his daughter Jodh Bai in marriage to prince Salim can easily be criticised on sentimental grounds. But the action must be judged from the practical point of view. Jodh Bai was married to Salim at a time when practically there was a race among the Rajput Rajas for gaining royal favours and high *mansabs*. Ambar, Bikaner and Jaisalmer had already given their daughters in marriage to the Emperor (Akbar).

Udaisingh adopted the wise course of uniting his house with the imperial house of Delhi and thereby he not only recovered the lost possessions of his ancestral kingdom but gained sufficient material advantages as well for the land of his birth. Marwar remained safe from the Mughal incursions during the century following the accession of Udaisingh. During the period of respite art and architecture developed in Marwar. The country which was desolate before the accession of this Raja began to grow rapidly. A part of the Fort-palace in Jodhpur was constructed by Mota Raja Udaisingh. He further tried to introduce administrative reforms in Marwar on the Mughal pattern. The practice of paying *Peshkash* to the ruler

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of Marwar was started by Udaisingh on the Mughal pattern.[1] So far the nobles of Marwar considered Rao as one among them being descendants of the same ancestor. With the introduction of the practice of *Peshkash* the Jagirs of the nobles were relapsed to the Raja after the death of one particular fief-holder and the same was restored to him only when he had paid a high sum by way of *Peshkash* to the ruler. The same practice was started by Emperor Akbar with respect to various Rajput states of Rajasthan. Further, the system of *Dak Chauki* also came into vogue in Marwar from the time of Mota Udaisingh.[2] Thus, as a result of close contact of the house of Jodhpur with the Imperial house of Agra, Marwar began to develop and the state and the people of Marwar were immensely benefitted. The credit of contracting friendly relations with the Mughal Emperors goes to Udaisingh who by giving Jodh Bai in marriage to Salim not only secured material advantages to his country but also enhanced the prestige and dignity of his State by extending his full co-operation to Akbar in his Scheme of Nationalisation.

Soon after the marriage of Jodh Bai Udaisingh was sent against Rao Surtan of Sirohi in the year 1588. Surtan was dislodged from the *gadi* of Sirohi and the principality was given to Kalla Deora. But Sirohi was soon re-captured by Rao Surtan. Therefore, the Mota Raja was again deputed by the Mughal Emperor in the year 1593 to subdue the Rao of Sirohi.[3]

After his victory over Rao Surtan of Sirohi Udaisingh was sent to the Deccan along with Prince Daniyal on the 21st of Muharram, A.H. 1001, i, e., 18 October 1592.[4]

Thereafter at the end of July 1592 Udaisingh was appointed by Akbar to manage the affairs at Lahore.[5]

As a result of these wars the prestige and dignity of Udaisingh and the state of Marwar enhanced. Further, Udaisingh got a chance to establish his authority over Phalodi, Sojat and Siwana by finally

1. *Administration Report* (1883), pp. 440-41; S. R. Sharma, p. 199.
2. *Administration Report* (1883), pp. 607-8.
3. *AN*, III, p. 985; *Tabaqat*, II, pp. 582-84; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 915; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 80; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 22; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815; Ojha, I, pp. 359-60; Reu, I, pp. 174-75; Asopa, p. 152.
4. *Tabaqat* (Persian Text), p. 379; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 80.
5. *Tabaqat*, II, p. 638; Ojha, I, p. 361; Reu, I, p. 176.

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bringing under his control the recalcitrant nobles there.[1] Udaisingh, after his conquest of Siwana, returned to Lahore on 15 December 1594 and passed away within six months of his arrival there.[2]

Udaisingh further tried to strengthen the ties of friendship with the Emperor by appointing Qazi Firoz as the 'Shahar Qazi' of Jodhpur. The Qazi was appointed with the object of leading Friday prayers in the city.[3] Udaisingh's action leads to the conclusion that the Mota Raja was all out for cultivating permanent friendly relations with the Mughal Emperor.

Thus, when the Mota Raja died of heart attack at Lahore on 11 July 1595[4], his sway extended over the parganas of Jodhpur, Sojat, Siwana, Phalodi, Satalmer and Jaitaran. He left a secure throne to his son and successor Sursingh with a friendly and sympathetic monarch at Agra always ready to bestow all sorts of favours on the young successor of Raja Udaisingh.

At the time of his death, he was a mansabdar of 1500 only while his son began his career as a mansabdar of 2000 Zat and Sawar rank.[5]

B. Sawai Raja Sursingh (1595—1619)

Mota Raja's sixth son, Sursingh, alias Raja Suraj Singh Rathor, was given 'Tika' of Jodhpur by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, at Lahore on 23 July 1595 as per the wishes of his father. Akbar himself went to Udaisingh's Haveli to pay condolence visit.[6] The Emperor bestowed on Sursingh nine parganas of Marwar, four parganas of Gujrat, one pargana of Malwa, one pargana of Deccan and one

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp. 97 and 100; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 79 & 81; Tod, II, p. 965; Reu, I, pp. 170 & 175; Asopa, pp. 153-54; Maharajkumar, p. 75.
2. *AN*, III, p. 1015.
3. *vide*, a copy of Sanad dated 21 July 1583, to Qazi Sayyid Firoz. The copy of the Sanad is in the possession of descendants of the Said Qasi.
4. *AN*, III, p. 1027; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, III, p. 915; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 105; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 76; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 23; Ojha, I, p. 361; Asopa, p. 155; *Vir Vinod*, p. 815.
5. *Tabaqat*, II, p. 671; *Maathir-ul-Umara* (Vol. II, p. 916), however, gives 1,000 as his mansab.
6. *AN*, p. 1027; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 123; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 25; Tod, II, p. 969; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 816-17; Ojha, I, p. 364; Reu, I, p. 181; Asopa, p. 158.

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pargana of Mewar; in all 16 parganas, were under his sway.[1] Mansab of 2000 Zat and Sawar rank was also conferred upon him. Persian chronicles only mention that a suitable *mansab* was granted to Sursingh at the time of his accession. But according to the chronicles of Marwar he was awarded a *mansab* of 2000 Zat and Sawar rank. The information given in the chronicles of Marwar appears to be correct.[2] Thus, Sursingh got a good start of royal favours and on his part he tried his best to justify the choice of his father and the Mughal Emperor by bringing laurels to the Mughal Empire in the various wars he was asked to undertake as an auxiliary commander of the Mughal forces.[3]

Soon after his accession Sursingh was deputed by the Emperor to look after the affairs of Gujrat in the absence of Shahzada Murad who had left Gujrat earlier for the Deccan.[4]

Then a revolt broke out in the 42nd regnal year of Akbar's reign (1597). When the question of taking command of Gujrat expedition was discussed in the Emperor's court none of the Amirs present there showed willingness to undertake the responsibility. Sursingh rose to the occasion and took up the 'Bida' of Betel.[5] Thereupon, Akbar appointed the Raja to undertake an expedition against Bahadur, son of Muzaffar Gujrati, the rebel Chief of Gujrat who had already looted the town of Danduga. Sursingh marched at the head of his troops to put down the rebellious Chief. But Bahadur fled away from the field without facing the besieging army.[6]

Again, in the 44th regnal year of Akbar's reign (1599) Sursingh was appointed to serve with Prince Daniyal in the Deccan. Sursingh

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 122; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 88; Asopa, p. 158.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 122; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 88; Deviprasad, *Jahangirnama*, Part II, p. 380; Ojha, I, p. 364; Reu, I, p. 181.
3. Akbar laid down the tradition of sending two important commanders—usually one Hindu and the other Musalman—to distant military expedition. The tradition laid down by Akbar was literally followed by his successors as a set tradition. Hence, Sursingh's case was also not an exception to it.
4. *AN*, III, p. 1043; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 123; *Kaviraja Khyat*, I, p. 88; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, I, p. 365; Reu, I, p. 181; Asopa, p. 158.
5. गूहि पांन एक कहियो अंगज—झट खग बाहैं बाहं झलूं ।
मोकलूं पकड़ भदकर मिलक—भदकर रौ सिर भौकलूं ॥
—*Suraj Prakash*, p. 27.
6. *AN*, III, p. 1083; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 123-24; Tod, II, p. 969; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, I, p. 365; Reu, I, p. 182; Asopa p. 159.

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on his way to the Deccan stopped for some time at Sojat and thus delayed his departure. He thereupon incurred the displeasure of the Emperor who gave Sojat to Raja's brother Shaktisingh. Sojat was, however, restored to Sursingh after about an year through the intermediary recommendations of Bhatti Govindas and Rathor Ram, the two faithful nobles of the Raja.[1]

While in the Deccan Sursingh was appointed by Prince Daniyal to put down the rebellion of Raju, a former servant of Saadat Khan, in collaboration with another general named Daulat Khan. Saadat Khan had already submitted to the imperial authority after the annexation of his capital Nasik. But Raju raised his head in rebellion against the Mughal power in the region round about Nasik. Sursingh was deputed to put down the rebellion of Raju in the year 1600. He was asked to annex Ahmadnagar. Nasik, an important outpost of Ahmadnagar, was, however, annexed to the Mughal Empire on 14 June 1600.[2]

In the year 1602 Sursingh was deputed to subdue the rebel Khudawand Khan who had raised his head in rebellion in the Sarkars of Pathari and Pathan in the Deccan.[3]

The Rathor Chief displayed his extraordinary valour as a general in defeating the forces of Amber Jeo (Malik Ambar) (Chamu ?) in the Deccan. After victory over Amber, Akbar sent robes of honour to the various commanders who showed extraordinary zeal in the siege. "Raja Sursingh was distinguished among his equals by the grant of a kettledrum".[4]

1. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 124; Tod, II, p. 970; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, 1, pp. 366-67; Reu, 1, p. 183; Asopa, p. 159.
2. *AN*, III, p. 1154; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, I, p. 367; Reu, I, pp. 183-84.
3. *AN*, III; p. 1212; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 124; Deviprasad, *Akbarnama*, pp. 291-92; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, I, p. 368; Reu, I, p. 185; Asopa, p. 159.
4. ibid.

   The bardic chronicles of Marwar also solemnise his victory over Amber Champu but highly praising the Raja.

   तिण पाट सूर तप तेज तिण—उडे असल लग वरतियो ।
   भांजियो गरज सितार भिड़ै—लड़ै दैस दक्खण लिया ॥

   —*Rathod Vanshavali*, verse 10.

   Amber was defeated on 1 June 1601 in a battle fought on the bank of a river near Ahmadnagar (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 124).

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Towards the end of 48th regnal year of Akbar's reign (1603-04) Sursingh, on the request of Prince Daniyal was allowed to return to Jodhpur. But some of his nobles headed by Bhatti Govinddas were retained in the Deccan to perform military service during the absence of Raja.[1] Sursingh, on his way to Jodhpur, requested Akbar (at Agra) for grant of additional parganas and the considerate Emperor granted him Jaitaran and the western half portion of the pargana of Merta.[2]

Thus, within nine years of his accession Sursingh had earned a name for himself as a warrior and as a general of no less repute. His valorous deeds in the various expeditions were well rewarded by the wise emperor Akbar who granted him the parganas of Jaitaran and Merta in lieu of extraordinary feats performed by him in the wars of Gujrat and Deccan. Hence, the military services rendered by Sursingh not only earned appreciation for him in the Mughal empire, but brought glory to his motherland, Marwar. Further, Sursingh also succeeded in hoarding a large sum of money, a part of which was spent by him in the year 1605 in performing a *yajna* when he returned to Jodhpur after nine years of ceaseless warfare. While Raja Sursingh was celebrating his victory in his own land by performing *yajnas* and getting new buildings constructed in and around Merta[3] he heard that the old emperor Akbar breathed his last on October 15, 1605 and his son Salim ascended the throne on October 24, 1605 under the title 'Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir'. During this transitional period a rebellion broke but in Gujrat, in February 1607. Sursingh along with other Amirs of the Empire was deputed to put down the rebellion which he did successfully.[4]

Sursingh along with his son Gajsingh went to Agra and attended the Court of Jahangir on April 1, 1608.[5] He was then deputed

1. *AN*, III, p. 1229; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 125; Deviprasad, *Akbarnama*, p. 302; Ojha, I, p. 369; Reu, I, p. 185.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 124; Ojha, I, p. 368 f.n. 1; Reu, I, p. 185; Asopa, p. 159. *Jodhpur Khyat* mentions that the title of 'Sawal Raja' was also conferred upon Sursingh at that time (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 124). But this appears to be inaccurate.
3. Reu, I, p. 185.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 125-26; Ojha, I, pp. 370-71; Reu, I, p. 185; Asopa, p. 160.
5. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 140; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; Deviprasad, *Jahangirnama*, p. 102; Tod, II, p. 970; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, I, p. 371; Reu, I, p. 186; Asopa, p. 160.

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with Khan Khanan to the expedition of the Deccan in the month of November 1608.[1] At that time he was promoted to the rank of 3000 Zat and 2000 Sawar.[2]

In the year 1609 Mahabat Khan was sent against Rana Amarsingh of Mewar. The Mughal general was misinformed during the siege of Udaipur that the Rana's family was in the indirect protection of Raja Sursingh in the Fort of Sojat. Without ascertaining the truth of the information Mahabat Khan gave Sojat to Karam Sen, one of the grand sons of Rao Chandrasen. Sursingh sent Bhatti Govinddas to represent against this annexation and also to explain the correct position to the Mughal general. Thereupon, Sojat and Nadol were restored to Kunwar Gajsingh by Mahabat Khan's successor Abdullah Khan who was then supervising the campaign against Mewar.[3]

When Jahangir came to Ajmer in September 1613, Sursingh also went in person to call on the Mughal Emperor.[4] The pargana of Phalodi was given to him and he was deputed by the Emperor along with Prince Khurram in December 1613, to undertake expedition against Mewar.[5] The local knowledge of Raja Sursingh was fully utilised by Khurram in this expedition against Rana in the mountainous region of Mewar. Various military outposts were established by the Prince on Sursingh's suggestion and Rajkumar Gajsingh was appointed on the *thana* of Sadri.[6] Amarsingh entered into alliance with the Mughal Emperor and when his son Karan went to attend Khurram's Court at Gogunda Sursingh was also present there.[7]

1. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 153; Ojha, I, p. 371; Reu, I, p. 186; Asopa, p. 160.
2. ibid.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 126-27; *Vir Vinod*, p. 817; Ojha, I, p. 372; Reu, I, p. 187; Asopa, pp. 160-61.
4. *Tuzuk*, I, pp. 253 & 257; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 127-28; *Vir Vinod*, p. 818.
5. Kambu, p. 70; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp. 127-28; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 26; *Vir Vinod*, p. 818; Ojha, *Udaipur-ka-Itihas*, I, pp. 799-800; Reu, I, p. 190.
6. Kambu, p. 72; Lahori, I, pp. 171-72; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 128; *Vir Vinod*, p. 818; Reu, I, p. 190.
7. *Jahangirnama*, folio 67 (b). According to *Jodhpur Khyat* Kunwar Karan was presented to Khurram in February 1625, at Gogunda. Then only three Commanders—Amarsingh, Sursingh and Abdullah Khan were allowed to sit. All the rest kept standing (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 128).

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In the tenth regnal year of Jahangir's reign, Sursingh was appointed to the rank of a mansabdar of 5000 Zat and 3000 Sawar.[1] This was the highest mansab that could be awarded in those days to a Hindu. Sursingh was once again deputed to the Deccan and at the time of his departure a Kashmiri *Shawl* and a necklace of diamonds was awarded to him by the Emperor Jahangir. Sursingh also brought presents with him for the Emperor. In March 1615, valuable articles worth 42,000 were presented to the Emperor. Again 100 *mohars* were personally presented to the Emperor by Sursingh in March 1615. Then in the April of that year, seven elephants including the famous elephant 'Ranavat' were presented to Jahangir.[2] The Emperor, in return for all these presents, awarded one special elephant to the Raja and also conferred upon him the highest mansab of 5000 Zat and 3000 Sawar rank.[3] But after some time Sursingh came back to Jodhpur and was weighed against gold and silver at Sur Sagar.[4]

He, however, soon returned to the Mughal court with his son Gajsingh. Jahangir promoted him to the rank of a mansabdar of 5000 Zat and 3300 Sawar rank.[5] He was posted along with Khan Jahan and others to subdue the various rebellious vassals of the Deccan.[6] At the time of his departure for the Deccan a robe of honour together with a horse were bestowed upon him.

Jalor which was then in the possession of Bihari Pathans was given in Jagir to Sursingh's heir-apparent Gajsingh by Emperor Jahangir.[7] Gajsingh, however, brought Jalor successfully under his control. He soon issued letters of call to duty and the nobles of Marwar joined him in his expedition against Jalor.[8] With the help

1. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 301.
2. Devi Prasad, *Jahangirnama*, pp. 102, 199 and 201.
3. *Tuzuk*, pp. 282-83; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 916; Devi Prasad, *Jahangirnama*, pp. 199-201; Ojha, I, p. 379; Reu, I, p. 191.
4. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 294; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 917; Deviprasad, *Jahangirnama*, p. 205; *Vir Vinod*, p. 818; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 143; Ojha, I, p. 382; Reu, I, p. 193.
5. *Tuzuk*, I, pp. 300-1; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 917; Deviprasad, *Jahangirnama*, p. 210; *Vir Vinod*, p. 818; Ojha, I, p. 382; Reu, I, p. 194.
6. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 301; *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 194; Asopa, p. 162.
7. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, II, p. 917; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 139; Tod, II, p. 970; *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 103; Ojha, I, pp. 383-84; Reu, I, pp. 194-95; Asopa, p. 162.
8. चीठी फाटी चिहुँ दिसौ — सांभी कभणउजंह ।
कटक पधारो ठाकुरां — जोधा रिणमल्लांह ॥
—*Gunrupakbandh*, p. 110.

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of his nobles Gajsingh assailed the fort of Jalor.[1] The fort of Jalor came in his possession by the end of the year 1619.[2]

Jahangir posted Sursingh once again to the Deccan in the year 1618.[3] The Raja himself proceeded towards Burhanpur and sent Gajsingh, Rathor Rajsingh Khiwawat, Nathu Vyas and Bhandari Luna to administer the affairs of Jodhpur.[4] While the Mughal forces were at Mahikar outpost the Bijapuris attacked the Mughal *thana* of Mahikar. Kumbhkaran and Jaitawat Askaran successfully repelled the besiegers.[5]

Within a few days of this encounter Raja Sursingh *alias* Surajsingh Rathor breathed his last at Mahikar near Burhanpur in the Suba of Deccan on September 7, 1619.[6] At the time of his death Sursingh's sway extended over 16 parganas in and outside Marwar. According to Jodhpur *Khyat* Sursingh's sway extended over the following parganas :

(i) Jodhpur, (ii) Siwana, (iii) Jaitaran, (iv) Jalor, (v) Satalmer, (vi)

1. सांमत जिके हणमंतह सरिखा — लख दल सुं एकल लडै ।
बैरां कज किजै अवडचि समवड — चौरंग गयदा दांत चडै ॥
—*Gunrupakbandh*, p. 112.

2. लडि बारह बरस अलावदी — लखां दलां छल हूँ लियो ।
त्रंण मास मायं गज बंध तिकी — जालंधर गढ जीतियौ ॥
—ibid., p. 29 & *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 142.

i.e., siege of Jalor lasted for three months.

According to the author of *Gunrupakbandh*, Khemkaran, Udaisingh, Maheshdas, Rinmall Jodha, Prithviraj, Jaitsi Panchayan and others who were in all about 1000 joined Gajsingh in the siege of Jalor (See *Gunrupakbandh*, pp. 117-18). The author of *Tarikh-i-Palanpur* informs us that Bhandari Luna was the Commander of the Rathor forces (See page 103) while according to *Jodhpur Khyat*, after the capture of the Fort, Bhatti Govinddas Ashawat was given charge of the Fort (See *Khyat*, I, p. 139).

Gunrupakbandh solemnizes heroic deeds displayed by the nobles of Mewar in these lines :—

माटी पणै घणै मनि — विकसिया विरतानि ।
सामंत्र निरोह सारि — जुआंण करै जुहार ॥ (p. 115)

3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 144; Ojha, I, p. 385; Reu, I, p. 196.
4. ibid.
5. ibid.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 146; *Bankidas Khyat*, p. 26; *Vir Vinod*, p, 818; Ojha, I, p.

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Sojat, (vii) Merta, (viii) Phalodi, (ix) Sanchor, (x) Terwada, (xi) Merwada, (xii) villages of Gorwada with Nadol as headquarters, (xiii) Ratlam in Malwa, (xiv) Bhadnagar in Malwa, (xv) Chorgaon in Deccan and (xvi) Radhanpur in Gujrat.[1]

Thus ended the life of a warrior and a general who was associated with almost every important military expedition during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir. Not a single expedition was sent to the Deccan during these two decades in which Sursingh was not present. He was invariably entrusted with duties of a very serious nature in every expedition and he won signal success in all of them. Because of his daring military adventures Sursingh earned a name for himself and for the land of his birth. The prestige and dignity of the State of Marwar was greatly enhanced as a result of the victories attained by its ruler in the various wars of the Deccan and Rajasthan. Jahangir has also paid high tribute to Raja Sursingh in his memoirs.

> "He.....had a Zamindari which equalled that of the Rana, and he had even overcome him in one battle..... (He) reached high rank and great dignity. His territory surpassed that of his father or grandfather."[2]

The Chronicles of Marwar inform us that Sursingh was not only honoured by the Mughal Emperor but with the enhancement of the Raja's personal dignity and prestige the State and people of Jodhpur

386; Reu, I, p. 197; Asopa, p. 162. The Date of his death is recorded in the *Gunrupakbandh*:

सौलै से समंत — वरस छंहतरे बयट् ठै ।
सुवल पक्ख भादवै —धुमि वरखा धण धुठेठै॥
दखण दैस मुहमदनगर — मुकांम महीकर ।
पुगति आउ भूपाल — वरस गुण चासां भीतर ॥
चौईस वरस राजस करै — सूरसिंह नृप द्वापरौं ।
इक छत्र नवै भौगये — मुओ राव मंडांवरी ॥ (p. 128)

See also *Surajprakash*, pp. 30-31.
Jahangir records in his memoirs that the information of Sursingh's death reached him on Saturday, September 18, 1619 (See *Tuzuk*, II, p. 99. Also see *Jahangirnama*, p. 389).

1. See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 146.
2. II, p. 99.

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were immensely benefitted.[1] Hence, after his death he was lamented by a large number of people in and outside Marwar.[2]

C. RAJA GAJSINGH (A.D. 1619—1638)

Sursingh's son and successor, Gajsingh, was at Jodhpur when the late Raja breathed his last at Mahikar in the Deccan. Having received the sad news of his father's death Gajsingh immediately left Jodhpur for Burhanpur and entrusted the charge of the Fort and Government of Jodhpur to one of his trusted nobles named Rajsingh Kumpawat.[3]

Emperor Jahangir sent *Tika* for Gajsingh through Darab Khan, son of Abdul Rahim Khan Khano. The bearer of this investiture girt Gajsingh with sword as Imperial proxy. Seven parganas of Jodhpur namely Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana, Satalmer, Jodhpur, Terwada and Gorwada[4] together with a mansab of 3000 Zat and 2000 Sawar rank besides the title of 'Raja' were conferred upon Gajsingh at the time of investiture ceremony.[5]

Thus after the death of Raja Sursingh Phalodi, Jalor, Sanchor and Merta were annexed by the Mughal emperor. Phalodi was given to Sabal Singh, younger brother of Gajsingh, while Jalor, Sanchor and Merta were assigned to Prince Khurram.[6]

Gajsingh, who attended the Court of Jahangir for the first time in the tenth regnal year of the Emperor's reign with his father, was since then associated with the various expeditions that were under-

1. *Gunrupakbandh*, p. 126.
2. ibid., p. 133.
3. धायो दक्खण डला — खेड थलकाद तुरंगम ।
   राजधिं राखियौ — काटे रंग दुरंगम ॥
   —*Gunrupakbandh*, p. 127.
   Also see *Mundiyar Khyat*, folio 3; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 150; Reu, I, p. 199.
4. *Mundiyar Khyat*, folio 4 & 5; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 150.
5. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 99; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 4 (a); *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 570; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 27; Tod, II, p. 972; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Ojha, I, pp. 388-89; Reu, I, p. 199.
   The author of *Suraj Prakash* writes :—
   एराक गयंद सिरपाव अति — दिली नाथ जवहर दिया ।
   तब बधे क्रीत गजबंधतणी — दखणी थाट दहल्लिया ॥ (p. 31.)
6. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 5 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 1. 15

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taken by the Rajput Rajas (during his *Kunwarship*). Naturally, therefore, he received high honours from the Imperial throne at the time of his accession.

Soon after the investiture ceremony Gajsingh along with Darab Khan proceeded to the Mughal outpost of Mahikar. The recalcitrant forces of Ahmadnagar led by Amber Jeo attacked the *thana* of Mahikar. The Raja repelled the besiegers with the help of his 2000 soldiers and thus saved the Mughal outpost of Mahikar from devastation.[1] In lieu of his services the title of *Dalthaman* was conferred upon him.[2] According to the bardic chronicles of Marwar it was a tough fight between the Deccanis and the forces of Raja Gajsingh.

Darab Khan was replaced by Prince Khurram in the Deccan. No sooner Khurram reached the Deccan he accepted Amber's offer of peace. Thereupon, Gajsingh took leave of him and proceeded towards Jodhpur via Agra. Jahangir raised his mansab to 4000 Zat and 3000 Sawar rank[3] and the parganas of Jalor and Sanchor were also given to him in Jagir for showing extraordinary efficiency in the wars against the Deccanis.[4] On March 11, 1622 a kettledrum was

1. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 8 (a) (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 155; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 92; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 27.
   The author of *Gunrupakbandh* (p. 151) and *Surajprakash* (pp. 31-33) record Gajsingh's conquest over Amber Jeo in hyperbolical terms. According to the *Khyat* writers the siege against Amber Jeo lasted for two years which is obviously incorrect (see *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 92 and *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 27).
2. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 10 (a); Tod, II, p. 973; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Ojha, I, p. 390; Reu, I, p. 200; Asopa, p. 165.
3. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 215; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 155-56; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 10 (a); *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Deviprasad, *Jahangirnama*, p. 476; Ojha, I, p. 390.
4. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 10 (a); *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 112; Reu, I, p. 200.
   So far the pargana of Jalor was in the possession of Prince Khurram.
   The author of *Gunrupakbandh* commemorates the victory of Gajsingh over Malik Amber and the award of the parganas of Jalor and Sanchor in these words :

   महणां रंभ भत्थियो — तैग तुडि दक्खण भारी ।
   पातसाह हुई प्रसण — हुक्म कीध पंच हमारी ।
   भंडोवर नर संभद — सीस मनसब वधारे ।
   दे भरगारा ताग — तुरी साखति सिंगारे ।
   पुत्रमास सुपारस भौकली—दिड राजा दलधंमतूं ।
   जागीर दीध जौगणपूरै—कणिया गिरि सांचौर सूं ।
   (p. 158)

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also awarded to Gajsingh by Emperor Jahangir.[1] Thereafter, Gajsingh proceeded to Jodhpur.

Prince Khurram rebelled against the authority of the Mughal Emperor. Having heard of this rebellion Jahangir sent for Raja Gaj Singh. Gaj Singh, however, returned from his capital and attended the Mughal Court at Chatsu on May 1, 1623.[2] The Raja was deputed to hunt down the rebel prince on May 5, 1623 along with Shahzada Parwaiz and Mahabat Khan.[3] On the eve of his departure Gajsingh was given Phalodi in Jagir and his mansab was also raised to 5000 Zat and 4000 Sawar rank.[4] In the meantime, Khurram was defeated in the battle of Bilochpur[5] and was put to flight and he took the road to Udaipur after this defeat.[6] Therefore, Parwaiz and party was summoned back to the court by the emperor. Meanwhile, Khurram left Udaipur along with Rana Karan's brother Bhim Siso-

1. *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 232-33.
2. कहै कवीर मंत्रिर — कहियो वयण विचार ।
जै नावै राठौड नृप — तौ नह आवै घर ।
धन सुरातन धन अडपू— धन राठौड़ ईस ।
सुण सुरतांण कबूल की — वात विस्सांवा वीस ।
—*Gunrupakbandh.*

Purport of Jahangir's letter to Gajsingh as recorded by the author of *Gunrupakbandh.*

तूं खुरसांण हिन्दुवां आगल । किलमा पढ लिखे इस कागज ।
खाड़ै राव सिरे नव खंड़ां । मारु तौ सिर मारथ मडां ।
माड़े तू थामां ब्रहमंडा । तू राजा दलथंम कहायौ ।
ऐ भरमार मुजै तै आयो । हल साहजादे दुद उठायौ ।
पतिसाह फुरमांण पठायौ ।

Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 156-57; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 12 (a); Ojha, I, p. 392.

Chatsu is between Jaipur and Sawaimadhopur Jn. and is now an important Railway Station on this section of Western Railway.

3. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 259; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I. p. 570; Beni Prasad, p. 309.
4. *History of Phalodi* by Dr. L. P. Tessitori, *JASB*, XII, p. 92; *Tuzuk*, II, p. 261; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, part III, p. 221; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Ojha, I, p. 391; Reu, I, p. 202; Kambu, I, pp. 272-73.

Mansab was conferred upon Raja Gajsingh on 9 May 1623 (See *Tuzuk*, II, p. 261. Also see *Jahangirnama*, p. 516).

5. Battle of Bilochpur was fought in March 1623.—*Tuzuk*, II, pp. 254-55; Kambu, I, p. 172; Lahori, I, pp. 160-63; Beni Prasad, p. 307.
6. G. N. Sharma p. 144.

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diya and arrived in Bihar. Gajsingh was deputed along with Mahabat Khan to deal with the Prince.[1] On October 16, 1624, a battle was fought at Hajipur near Patna on the banks of the river Ganges between the Imperial forces and Khurram's army. According to *Khyats* Gajsingh was not willing to take active part in the battle as he was not posted in the *Haraval* of the Mughal army by Prince Parwaiz. So, he detached himself and encamped on the left side of the river. In this way Gajsingh showed his resentment against Parwaiz's plan of battle. The Imperial forces were about to be defeated when Bhim Sisodiya, an ally of Prince Khurram, challenged Raja Gajsingh to take active part on either side. The coarse language of the taunt from a fellow rajput touched the Raja in his weak corners. He joined the actual warfare on the side of the Imperial army and soon the forces of Prince Khurram were routed.[2]

It appears that the reason of Gajsingh's inactivity during the first part of the battle of Hajipur, as given by the *Khyat* writers, was not

1. *Tuzuk*, II, p. 260; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 93; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 12(a); *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 27; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Tod, II, p. 975; Ojha, I, pp. 292-94; Reu; I, p. 203; *Jahangirnama*, pp. 514-15.

2. *Tuzuk*, II, pp. 294-6; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, part III, pp. 591-94; *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*, VI, p. 444; Tod, II, p. 975; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Ramnarain Duggar, 'Maharaja Bhim Sisodiya' published in Nagari Pracharini Patrika, I, v. s. 1977, pp. 187-89.
According to the author of *Gunrupakbandh* the battle was fought on Saturday, 16 October 1624. This is confirmed by *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, Vol. II, p. 758:

सौलह से संमत – हुथै जोगण पुर चालै
सम्मै एकसिये – भास काती वैडालै
पूनम थावर वार – सरद रित है पालही
वीर खेत पूरब – रित हेमंत प्रघट्टी
सुरतांण खुरभ भग्गों भिडै – चाड़ि चक्कयां चक्कवै
गजसिंह प्रवाडो खाहियौ – वहै भीम चीत्राड़वै (p. 246)

Beni Prasad and Banarsi Prasad have not described this battle in detail. G. N. Sharma has, however, mentioned that the battle was fought at Damdama in 1624 (See G. N. Sharma, p. 146). But according to the *Khyats* of Marwar, which are almost near contemporary authorities for the reigns of Gajsingh and Jaswantsingh, the battle was fought at Hajipur near Patna. Mirza Nathan, author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, also mentions that the battle was fought near Patna. Raja Gajsingh was posted in the left wing of the Imperial army along with all other Rajputs (See Mirza Nathan's *Baharistan*, II, p. 758).

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the real cause of his alleged resentment. Khurram was born of the Jodhpur princess, Jodh Bai.[1] It is possible that, being a close relation of Khurram, Gajsingh might have hesitated to take the field against the rebel prince and so, on the mere pretext of Jaisingh's posting in the *Haraval* of the Imperial army, he took the rash decision of keeping himself aloof from the active charge in the battle. Moreover, it is also possible that Gajsingh might have judged that the days of Jahangir were numbered while Khurram's was a rising star. Hence, to gain the favour of the probable future successor of the Mughal throne Gajsingh decided to keep himself aloof from the active charge in the battle of Hajipur. However, his wish could not be fulfilled. Still, after the victory of the Imperial army, his mansab was raised to 5000 Zat and 5000 Sawar rank by Jahangir.[2] Thus, the highest mansab was conferred upon the Raja which could be awarded to a Rajput ruler in those times.

Gajsingh was once again sent to the Deccan[3] after the victory of Hajipur. He displayed extraordinary valour in defending Burhanpur against the incursions of Prince Khurram who had now reached the environs of Burhanpur after his days of exile in Bengal and Orissa.[4] However, Khurram soon reconciled with his father in March, 1626.

Raja Gajsingh and Khan Jahan Lodi continued to serve in the Deccan till October 28, 1627, when Jahangir breathed his last. Qazvini and Lahori inform us that when the news of Shah Jahan's arrival at Ajmer reached the Deccan, Gajsingh and Jaisingh deserted Khan Jahan, the then Governor of the Deccan.[5]

1. *AN*, III, p. 921; Beni Prasad, p. 30, f. n. 5; Banarsi Prasad, p. 1.
2. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 17(b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 157; *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Reu, I, p. 204.

   According to the *Khyats* pargana of Jalgaon (Deccan) was also given at that time.

   The statements of Lahori and *Maathir-ul-Umara* regarding the subsequent happenings of the regnal year of Shah Jahan's reign also confirm the fact that Gajsingh was a mansabdar of 5000 Zat and Sawar rank during the reign of Emperor Jahangir (see Lahori, p. 158; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571).
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 159; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 18 & 19; Ojha, I, p. 395; Reu, I, p. 204; Asopa, p. 166.

   According to the *Khyats* pargana of Merta was given to Gajsingh and Nagor was given to his son Amarsingh by Jahangir at that time.

   Tuzuk, II, pp. 278-79; Dr. Banarsi Prasad, p. 47.
5. Lahori, I, p. 76; Qazvini, f. 118. Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 161; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 25 (a); Devi Prasad, *Shahjahannama*, I, p. 2; Reu, I, pp. 205-6 and Banarsi Prasad, p. 69.

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Jahangir was succeeded by his son Khurram who ascended the throne of Hindustan on February 4, 1628 and Gajsingh attended his Court at Agra on February 13, 1628.[1] Shah Jahan, the son and successor of Jahangir, renewed Gajsingh's mansab and awarded him a special robe of honour (*khasa khilat*), a sword, a horse, elephant and a kettledrum.[2] Thus, Gajsingh was honoured in the very beginning of the new emperor's reign.

Soon after this Gajsingh was sent against the Bhomiyas who used to make depredations in the neighbourhood of Agra.[3] Thereafter he was deputed against the rebel Governor of the Deccan, Khan Jahan Lodi, on February 22, 1630. Gajsingh was appointed commander of one of the three armies that were sent against Khan Jahan Lodi.[4] The Rathor Chief faced the guerrilla tactics of the Deccanis gallantly. His services earned appreciation for him from the Mughal Emperor who rewarded him suitably in October 1630.[5] It was probably at this time that Shah Jahan conferred upon him the title of Maharaja and the Pargana of Mahrot in Jagir.[6]

1. Lahori, I, p. 158; Kambu, I, pp. 272-73; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 162; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 26 (a); *Vir Vinod*, p. 819; Ojha, I, p. 397; Reu, I, p. 206; Asopa, p. 168.
2. Lahori, I, pp. 158-59; Kambu, I, pp. 272-73; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571; *Vir Vinod*, I, p. 819; Ojha, I, p. 398; Reu, I, p. 206; Asopa, p. 168.
   They were probably Bhadawriyas noted for their highway robbery in the Chambal valley.
3. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 27 (a).
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 165; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 819-20; Ojha, I, pp. 400-1; Reu, I, pp. 206-7.
   According to Lahori (Vol. I, p. 294) Gajsingh was despatched from Agra on Rajab 20, A. H. 1339 (23 Feb. 1963). Also see *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571.
5. Lahori, I, p. 315; *Shahjahannama*, I, p. 38; Ojha, I, p. 402.
6. *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 31(a); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 169-70; Ojha, I, p. 402. It appears from the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* that the title of 'Maharaja' was conferred upon Gajsingh during the reign of Jahangir himself (See *Tuzuk*, II, p. 260. Also see *Shahjahannama*, I, pp. 514-15). Hence, the assertion of Imperial Gazetteer and the Chronicles of Marwar that 'Jaswantsingh was the first ruler of Marwar to receive the title of 'Maharaja' appears to be wrong. Jahangir mentions Gajsingh as 'Maharaja' and the *Khyats* of Marwar confirm that the title of 'Maharaja' was awarded to Gajsingh by Emperor Jahangir. So, it should be taken for granted that Gajsingh was the first ruler of his house to receive the title of Maharaja.
   Mahrot is now a railway station on the Phulera-Merta Road section of the Northern Rly.

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He was also deputed along with Asaf Khan against Md. Adil Khan, the Sultan of Bijapur, in December, 1631.[1] After a few days Gajsingh came to Jodhpur but soon returned to Agra by March, 1633.[2] He was deputed once more to the Deccan.[3] On March 10, 1636 he was honoured by the award of a horse together with its special golden equipment.[4] He returned from the Deccan with Emperor Shah Jahan in December, 1636 and he was allowed leave for Jodhpur at Jogi *Talab*.[5] Special robe of honour, elephant and other valuable articles were also awarded to him.[6] Now Gajsingh got about one and a half year's furlough to look after the administration of his State. He, however, soon returned to Agra with his son Jaswantsingh and was awarded a special robe of honour in January, 1638.[7] In obedience to Imperial orders Gajsingh joined the army of Shuja whom the Emperor had summoned to Lahore.[8] Soon after his return to Agra Gajsingh died on Sunday, May 6, 1638

1. Lahori, I, pp. 404-05; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571; *Vir Vinod*, p. 820; *Shahjahannama*, I, pp. 65-66; Ojha, I, pp. 402-3; Reu, I, p. 207; Asopa, p. 169.
2. Gajsingh came back to Jodhpur on July 30, 1632 (see Lahori, I, p. 474) and returned to Agra by March, 1633. (see Lahori, I, p. 474; *Vir Vinod*, p. 820, *Shahjahannama*, I, p. 87; Ojha, I, p. 403; Reu, I, p. 207). Date given by the author of *Vir Vinod* is not correct.
3. Reu, I, p. 207. This incident is unsupported by any other historical authority. But Lahori mentions that Gajsingh was honoured with a horse with special golden equipment while the Maharaja was posted in Daulatabad in Deccan (see Lahori, Vol. I, part II, pp. 141-42).
4. See Lahori, I, part II, pp. 142. Also see *Vir Vinod*, p. 820; Reu, I, p. 207; *Shahjahannama*, I, p. 174.
5. On his way from the Deccan to Agra via Ajmer Shah Jahan gave leave to Gajsingh to visit Jodhpur while the Mughal camp was at Jogi Talab (see Lahori, I, part II, p. 233; also see Reu, I. p. 207 and *Vir Vinod*, p. 820).
6. Lahori, I, p. 233; *Vir Vinod*, p. 820; Reu, I, p. 207.
7. Gajsingh along with his son Jaswantsingh reached Agra on Rajab 18, 1047 A. H. (Nov. 26, 1637) and 'performed the Kornish' (see Lahori, II, p. 8; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 28; *Vir Vinod*, p. 820; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 6; Ojha, I, p. 404; Reu, I, p. 208. He was honoured by the award of a *Khilat* (see Lahori, II, p. 11; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 7 and Reu, I, p. 208).
8. Lahori, II, p. 24 and 54; *Shahjahannama*, pp. 9-10 and 12; Banarsiprasad, pp. 218-19; Ojha, I, p. 406.

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and was cremated on the bank of the river Jamuna.[1] Gajsingh left behind much extended territory for his son and successor. The author of *Gunrupakbandh* informs that 5,004 villages and nine forts were under the sway of Maharaja Gajsingh.[2]

सहस पंच त्रण गांम—मंडि नव को मुरदूदर
जसी सहस रावताँ—असी सहसां हई पखर
हल मुचे आई पद—असी सहसां असवाराँ
सूलडिया नव लाल—खुंदकारां खंद्दारा
राठौड़ मौड़ हिवुवांण सिर—महा दुगै गढ़ जोधपुर
गजसिंह कुंवर नृप सूरसिंह—सहुग्रै वदे सुर असुर

Thus, ended the life of a warrior and general who surpassed his valiant father in every sphere. Major part of his life was spent in the various expeditions that he undertook for the Mughal empire. He paved the way for his son and successor, Jaswantsingh I, under whom Marwar became the premier State in Hindustan and its ruler also attained the position of one of the premier nobles of the Mughal empire.

The period under review (1538-1638) following the death of Rao Chandrasen and the accession of Maharaja Jaswantsingh I was the period of peace and prosperity in Marwar. During this period the three successive rulers of Marwar remained in constant alliance with the Mughal emperors of Delhi. So, there was no fear from the side of Delhi. Hence, the State of Marwar advanced in the direction of prosperity. The streams of wealth which flew from Bijapur and Golkonda to the barren plains of Marwar also enriched the material prosperity of its ruler as well as the ruled. As the author of *Ajit Charitra* opines[3] the prestige and dignity of the rulers of Marwar was

1. Lahori, II, p. 97; *Mundiyar Khyat*, f. 52(a); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 183; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 27; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 571; *Vir Vinod*, p. 820; Deviprasad, *Shahjahannama*, II, p.39; Ojha, I, p. 407; Reu, I, p. 208 and Asopa, p. 170.
2. *Gunrupakbandh*, p. 97.
3. तस्यात्मज श्री गजसिंह नामा — आतो धरणखां विदितेक कीर्ति ।
लग्नं महारा पद सुनाम्ना — व्यानज्जयं राजकलै बलिष्ठम ॥
—*Ajit Charitra*, p. 37.
The authors of *Padshahnama* and *Dhakhirat-al-Khawanin* also corroborate the verdict of *Ajit Charitra*. He was considered to be one of the big and powerful zamindars of the Mughal court during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan.

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also greatly enhanced as a result of their military exploits up to river Krishna in the South, Ganges in the East and Sindh in the West. Further, the administrative machinery of Marwar was also influenced as a result of its close contact with Agra. Not only *dak chaukis*[1] were established by Mota Raja, but he also started the practice of realising *peshkash*[2] from the nobles there. During the reign of his successor, the nobles of Marwar who uptil 1583 claimed equality with the rulers there, were brought under subservience by classifying them into various grades according to their Jagirs and the relations they had with the ruler there. Bhatti Govinddas, the *Pradhan* of the State of Marwar during the reign of Raja Sursingh, organised the various departments at Jodhpur on the Mughal pattern. Hereafter, the designations of the old State officials were changed and the new officials came to be known as Diwan, Bakshi, Hakim, Karkun, Daftari, Daroga, Fotadar and Waqai-i-Nawis.[3] Thus, the refractory nobles of Marwar were brought under control for the first time during the period following the death of Rao Chandrasen. As such, succession quarrels became obsolete in Marwar. The various parganas of the State which could not be annexed even by the sword of mighty rulers like Chunda and Maldeo were brought under the sway of Sursingh and his son. Hence the period of respite proved advantageous for the State of Marwar so far as the territorial expansion and the material growth of the State are concerned.

But behind the veil of this material prosperity ran an undercurrent which had bad results also. As a result of close contact with the rulers at Agra the position of the rulers of Marwar was reduced to that of a mere hereditary Zamindar. His title to his principality had to be recognised and confirmed by the Mughal Emperor. Moreover, the jagirs or territory granted to these Rajas from time to time outside their hereditary principality ceased to belong to them after their death. Udaisingh had a district in the Punjab which never afterwards formed a part of his successor's holdings. Similarly, Sursingh held some districts in the Deccan and when Gajsingh was recognised as his successor Jahangir did not give him in *Tika* all the 16 districts held by his late father. This was due to the mansabdari system. This

1. *Administration Report*, pp. 608-9.
2. *Administration Report*, p. 440; S. R. Sharma, p. 199.
3. *Vir Vinod*, p. 818.

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rank fluctuated from time to time. Again the districts had to change with the change in postings of the mansabdars. Thus, the same parts of land were conferred upon the rulers again and again and for restoration of the land held by his father every successor had to render military service. The rulers had to be away from the land of their birth. Naturally, therefore, their hereditary domain was abandoned to the management of servants. The compensation for perpetual absence from the hereditary dominion was given in the form of titles like 'Sawai Raja', 'Dalthaman' or 'Maharaja' besides the mansabs. These campaigns undoubtedly satisfied the natural love of the Rathors. But every time they were being reminded that they were subordinate princes. Before returning to their native land they had to obtain leave from the Emperor.[1] They went to the Mughal Court as grandees (Mansabdars) and so they were required to learn the various etiquettes of the Mughal Court. Their dress, diet, mode of living and language were greatly influenced by the Mughals.

1. *Tuzuk*, I, p. 294; *Jahangirnama*, p. 205; Ojha, p. 390.

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CHAPTER SIX

Maharaja Jaswantsingh I and the Mughal Empire

(A.D. 1638—1678)

JASWANTSINGH, the valiant son of a valiant father, was in Bundi[1] when Raja Gajsingh breathed his last at Agra. As soon as he heard the news of the late Raja's demise he hastened to Agra.[2] Emperor Shah Jahan personally gave him *Tika* on May 25, 1638 and a *Khilat*, a jewelled dagger, a flag, a kettledrum, a horse with trappings, an elephant, the title of Raja, and the mansab of 4000 Zat and Sawar were conferred upon him by the Emperor at the time of the investiture

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 194; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 29; Ojha, I, p. 413; Reu, I, p. 210, f. n. 1.
2. There might have been more than one reason which induced Jaswantsingh to march immediately to Agra from Bundi :
   (a) Jaswantsingh was the second son of his father. Though Gajsingh had nominated him as his successor in his own life-time and his decision had also been communicated to Shah Jahan, yet as his elder brother Amar-s ingh was present at the Imperial court, he hastened to Agra to prevent a possible intrigue on the part of his opponents.
   (b) To ensure uncontested peaceful succession it was also necessary that his title to the *gadi* might be formally recognised by the Mughal Emperor. So, he first went to the Imperial capital to obtain *Tika* and then he went through the formality of his accession to the *gadi* of his forefathers at Jodhpur in May 1640.
   (c) The third reason may be that Jaswantsingh might have wished to attend the mourning of his late lamented father.
   (See *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; Tod, II, pp. 975-76; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 821-22; Ojha, I, p. 413).

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ceremony.[1] Five parganas of Marwar, namely, Jodhpur, Phalodi, Sojat, Siwana and Merta were also bestowed upon him.[2] Further, the Mughal Emperor appointed Thakur Rajsingh Kumpawat of Asop as Diwan of Jodhpur, as at the time of his accession Jaswantsingh was a minor.[3]

Jaswantsingh on his part presented six elephants to Shah Jahan about 24 days after the investiture ceremony. Thereupon, the Emperor honoured him with a *khilat* on Rabi-al-awwal 10, A.H. 1048[4] (July 12, 1638). Shah Jahan once again awarded a horse with golden trappings to the Rathor Chief on Rabi-al-akhir 17, A.H. 1048.[5] Thereafter, Jaswantsingh accompanied the Mughal Emperor from Agra to Peshawar. When the Royal camp reached Ikhatiyarpur, in the suba of Lahore, *khasa khilat* and a special horse with golden trappings were awarded to Jaswantsingh on Jamadi-al-akhir 7, A.H. 1048 (October 6, 1638).[6] On 15 Shaban, A.H. 1048 (December 12, 1638) the Raja was honoured by the award of a woollen Zarin-Poshtin.[7] Then, on Sunday the 18th Ramazan, A.H. 1048 (January 13, 1639), the mansab of 5,000 Zat and Sawar rank was conferred upon him and the pargana of Jaitaran was also given to him.[8] Only after three months Jaswantsingh was awarded a special elephant on Zil-i-hijja 10, A.H. 1048 (April 4, 1639).[9]

1. Lahori, II, p. 97; Kambu, II, p. 291; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 97; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 29; *Vir Vinod*, p. 822; Ojha, I, p. 413, f. n. 3; Reu, I, p. 210; Asopa, p. 174.
   According to *Khyats* Shah Jahan embraced Jaswantsingh after the investiture ceremony (which seems unlikely) and awarded him a necklace of pearls. Further, robes of honour were conferred upon the distinguished nobles of Marwar (See *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 29).
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 195; Ojha, I, p. 413.
3. *Vir Vinod*, p. 822, *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 43; Ojha, I, p. 414; Reu, I, p. 210; Asopa, p. 174.
   According to a copy of his horoscope preserved in Munshi Devi Prasad collection at Jodhpur, Jaswantsingh was little over 12 years when he was called upon to shoulder the responsibilities.
4. Lahori, II, pp. 102-3; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 42.
5. Lahori, II, p. 110; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 52.
6. Lahori, II, pp. 114-15; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 52.
7. Lahori, II, p. 128. *Zarin Poshtin* was an upper coat wrought in gold.
8. Lahori, II, p. 133; Kambu, II, p. 301; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 195; *Vir Vinod*, p. 822; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 56.
9. Lahori, II, p. 144; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 59.

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When Shah Jahan proceeded from Lahore to Jamrud *via* Peshawar Jaswantsingh also joined the Imperial camp at Ali Masjid near Jamrud on Muharram 3, A.H. 1049 (April 26, 1639).[1] He was again honoured by the award of a *khilat* and a horse with golden trappings on Jamadi-al-akhir 7, A.H. 1049 (September 25, 1639).[2]

Raja Jaswantsingh took leave of the Emperor and proceeded towards Jodhpur on Zil-Qada 9, A.H. 1049 (February 21, 1640).[3] He formally celebrated his coronation in the Fort of Jodhpur soon after his return to his country.[4] Only a few months after his return to Jodhpur his father's faithful Diwan, Raj Singh Kumpawat, died.[5] Shah Jahan appointed Rathor Maheshdas as his successor on Zil-i-hijja 16, A.H. 1050 (March 19, 1641).[6]

Jaswantsingh soon returned to Agra from his capital on Zil-i-hijja 16, A.H. 1050 (March 19, 1641).[7] He was awarded a *khilat* and a sword as soon as he reached Agra.[8] On Muharram 11, A.H. 1050 his mansab was also raised by making his 1,000 Du-Aspa sawars Sih-Aspa.[9] Again on Jamadi-al-awwal 29, A.H. 1051 (August 26, 1641) a horse with special golden trappings was given to the Rathor Chief by Shah Jahan.[10] Soon after this Jaswantsingh was called upon to join Qandahar expedition under Prince Dara Shukoh.[11] Jaswantsingh now began to feel himself so much attached to the Mughal Emperor as a result of constant favours that he not only complied with the orders of the Emperor but also gathered together all his brave

1. Lahori, II, p. 146; *Shahjahannama*, II, pp. 60-61; Ojha, I, p. 415; Reu, I, p. 212.
2. Lahori, II, p. 162; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 63.
3. Lahori, II, p. 181; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 68; Ojha, I, p. 416.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 196; Ojha, I, p. 416; Reu, I, p. 212.
5. Kaga Inscription on the Chattri of Rajsingh gives the date of his death. Kaga is near Jodhpur hardly a couple of miles N. of Jodhpur city.
6. Lahori, II, p. 122 and 151; Kambu, II, p. 339.
7. Lahori, II, p. 227; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 76.
8. Lahori, II, p. 229; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 76.
9. Lahori, II, p. 230; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 77; Reu, I, p. 213.
10. Lahori, II, p. 246.
11. The Imperial army under Dara Shukoh was despatched from Agra to Qandahar on Muharram 20, A. H. 1051 (21 April 1641).
See Lahori, II, pp. 293-94; Kambu, II, p. 365; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; *Umarai-i-Hanud* as quoted by Ojha in his *Jodhpur Rajya ka Itihas*, Vol. I, p. 417, f. n. 2; *Vir Vinod*, p. 822; *Shahjahannama*, II, pp. 113-14.

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Rajputs and joined the Mughal expedition with perhaps greater zeal than that of his father or grandfather had ever shown. But the Mughal forces were not required to fight against the Persians on this occasion because of the death of Shah Safi of Persia on his way between Persia and Qandahar. Hence, they were soon recalled. Jaswantsingh took leave of Dara Shukoh on Rabi-al-akhir 12, 1053 (June 19, 1643) and proceeded towards Jodhpur. On the eve of his departure Jaswantsingh was given a *khasa khilat*.[1]

On his return to Jodhpur Jaswant Singh appointed Mertia Gopaldas as his Diwan in place of Maheshdas Rathor who, being an Imperial Mansabdar, had to spend much of his time at Agra.[2] This is the first time he used his discretion in the appointment of a Diwan, probably because he had now attained the age of majority and taken over the responsibility of the administration of Marwar upon himself.

Naturally, Jaswantsingh earned the displeasure of his former Diwan, Maheshdas Rathor, who soon raised his head in rebellion against his authority. Therefore, forces were sent, according to the *Jodhpur Khyat*, under the command of Nensi against the rebellious Mera and Maheshdas Rathor, and soon the rebels were subdued.[3]

In the year A.H. 1053 (1643-44) Emperor Shah Jahan paid a visit to Ajmer. Jaswantsingh went from Jodhpur and paid his homage to the Emperor at Ana Sagar on Ramzan 8, A.H. 1053 (November 10, 1643).[4] On the eve of his departure for Lahore, Shah Jahan awarded a Khilat to Jaswantsingh on Zil-i-hijja 1, A.H. 1054 (January 19, 1645) and also appointed him as an acting Subahdar of Akbarabad (Agra) till the return of its permanent Subahdar, Sheikh Farid.[5] The appointment of Jaswantsingh as Subahdar of Agra and that too during the absence of the Emperor himself from Agra was a significant event. By his constant service and devotion the Raja gained the confidence of the Emperor. His blood relationship with Jodha Bai, the mother of the Emperor, brought him in close contact with

1. Lahori, II, pp. 335-36; *Umarai-i-Hanud*, p. 154, as quoted by Ojha; *Vir Vinod* p. 824; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 124.
2. Reu, I, p. 214.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 250; Ojha, I, p. 418; Reu, I, p. 215.
4. Lahori, II, p. 346; Kambu, II, p. 392; *Shahjahannama*, II, pp. 128-29; *Umarai-i-Hanud* (p. 155) as quoted by Ojha (Vol. I, p. 418).
5. Lahori, II, p. 407; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; *Umarai-i-Hanud*, p. 155; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 160; Ojha, I, p. 419; Reu, I, p. 215.

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Shah Jahan, who preferred to utilise the services of his *Khalazat-bhai* at critical times.

On the eve of his departure for Kashmir, Shah Jahan had asked Raja Jaswantsingh to reach Lahore positively by the end of August 1645, almost a couple of months before the Emperor's return.[1] The Emperor honoured him by the award of an Arab horse with golden trappings and a jewelled dagger on Rabi-al-awwal 4, A.H. 1056 (April 10, 1646).[2] Four days later, two thousand of the Raja's Sawars were made Du-Aspa Sih-Aspa.[3] Thereafter, Jaswantsingh accompanied Shah Jahan to Kabul.[4] On Rajab 16, A.H. 1056 (August 18, 1646) the Raja was awarded a special horse with golden trappings and on Zil-i-Hijja 24, 1056 (January 21, 1647) his other 2,500 sawars were again made Du-Aspa Sih-Aspa.[5] Thus, by the end of the year 1647 gradually 3,000 of his sawars were made Du-Aspa Sih-Aspa[6] and, according to the *Khyats*, pargana of Hindaun was also granted to him. This pargana is said to have remained in the possession of Jaswantsingh for about nine years.[7]

Thus, as a result of gradual increase his mansab was raised to 5,000 Zat and 5,000 Sawar Du-aspa Sih-Aspa.[8] Thereafter, he was sent to the Qandahar expedition under Prince Aurangzeb in January 1649.[9] By the end of March 1649, the Imperial army reached the environs of Kabul.[10] Shah Jahan also proceeded in person from Lahore to support and direct the siege from the rear.[11] The Imperial army reached Ghazni by the 18th of April 1649.[12] But Jaswantsingh was left behind at Kabul.[13] When Emperor Shah Jahan reached Kabul, Jaswantsingh paraded his 2,000 troopers

1. Lahori, II, p. 471; Kambu, II, p. 458; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 178.
2. Lahori, II, p. 501; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 188.
3. Lahori, II, p. 505; Kambu, II, p. 472; *Shahjahannama*, II, pp. 189-90.
4. Lahori, II, p. 506; *Shahjahannama*, II, p. 190.
5. Lahori, II, p. 627.
6. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754.
7. The various *Khyats* as quoted by Reu in his *Marwar-ka-Itihas*, I, p. 217.
8. *Waris*, I, p. 65; Kambu, III, p. 22; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754.
9. *Waris*, I, p. 69; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; Banarsi Prasad, pp. 230-31. Also see Ojha, I, pp. 420-21.
10. Sarkar, I & II, p. 123.
11. *Waris*, I, p. 97; Banarsi Prasad, p. 230.
12. ibid., p. 87.
13. ibid.; Reu, I, p. 217.

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before him in his reception.[1] Shah Jahan and Jaswantsingh reached Bagh Ambala (probably the modern city of Ambala) on December 21, 1649.[2] From here the Rathor Chief was granted leave for his country on Muharram 21, A.H. 1060 (January 14, 1650).[3]

Raja Jaswantsingh came back to Agra from Jodhpur on March 8, 1650 and was awarded a *khilat* by the Mughal Emperor.[4] During the *Nauroz* festival (March, 1650) 1,000 *khilats* were bestowed by the Emperor on the Imperial servants. Jaswantsingh was distinguished among them all by the award of a necklace of pearls (March 26, 1650).[5] Then on March 31 of the same year he was allowed to leave for Jodhpur.[6]

After the death of Rawal Manohardas of Jaisalmer the pargana of Satalmer was given to Raja Jaswantsingh on October 31, 1650.[7] He was also asked to help Sabalsingh, an Imperial nominee for the *gadi* of Jaisalmer. According to the *Khyats*, Sabalsingh also agreed to return Phalodi and Pokaran to the Rathor Chief if the *gadi* of Jaisalmer were restored to him.[8] Hence, Jaswantsingh sent an army under the command of his trusted nobles namely Mertia Gopaldas, Champawat Vithaldas and Nahar Khan. Sabalsingh also joined the Rathors at Kharroda with his 700 men. The fort of Pokaran was conquered by the Rathor forces on October 5, 1650.[9] Thence, the Marwar contingent proceeded to Jaisalmer. Ramchandra, the usurper, fled away out of fear and the *gadi* of Jaisalmer was given to Sabalsingh.[10]

1. *Waris*, I, p. 97; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754.
2. ibid., p. 135.
3. ibid., p. 137.
4. ibid., p. 139.
5. ibid., p. 142; Kambu, III, p. 108.
6. *Waris*, I, pp. 143-44.
7. ibid., p. 161; Kambu, III, p. 117.
8. *Vir Vinod*, p. 824; Reu, I, p. 218.
9. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 201; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 30; Ojha, I, pp. 421-22. According to Ojha the commander of the army was Nensi. Also see copy of *Jaswantsinghji-ri-Tawarikh* in the Archives Office at Bikaner, folio 1 & 2.
10. *Waris*, I, p. 161; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 203; *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 97; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 30; *Vir Vinod*, p. 324 and Ojha, I, p. 424.

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After the failure of the siege of Qandahar under Prince Aurangzeb Shah Jahan decided to send another expedition in 1652 to Qandahar under the leadership of his second son Shah Shuja. Hence, Jaswantsingh and Jaisingh were summoned and were ordered to join the expedition along with Prince Aurangzeb and Prime Minister Sadullah Khan. The siege was to be opened on May 2, 1652.[1] On his way to Qandahar Jaswantsingh was awarded a special horse with golden trappings at Kalalak.[2] He attended the Emperor's court at Jamrud on August 24, 1652.[3] On Sunday, February 27, 1653, Jaswant Singh's mansab was further raised to 6,600 Zat and 5,000 Sawar of which 2,000 were Du-aspa Sih-aspa.[4] Again on March 13, 1653 he was awarded four Arab horses and on March 27 an elephant together with a silver *hoda* was given to him.[5]

Shah Jahan celebrated his weighing ceremony in January, 1654. On this occasion Jaswantsingh's mansab was further raised to 6,000 Zat and 6,000 Sawar of which 5,000 were Du-aspa Sih-aspa, and the title of *Maharaja* was conferred upon him on January 6, 1654.[6] Thereafter, he was allowed to leave for Jodhpur on April 18, 1654 and on the eve of his departure he was awarded a *khilat* by the Emperor.[7]

Then the title of 'Shah Buland Iqbal' was conferred upon Prince Dara Shukoh by the Emperor on February 5, 1655. Maharaja Jaswantsingh, on this occasion, did not lag behind and presented

1. Banarsi Prasad, p. 230; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 133-35.
2. *Waris*, I, p. 228.
3. ibid., p. 246.
4. ibid., p. 268; Kambu, III, p. 160; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754. Also see Ojha, I, p. 424; Reu, I, p. 218; Asopa, p. 179.
5. *Waris*, I, pp. 270-71.
6. *Waris*, II, p. 40; Kambu, III, p. 180; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754. Also see Ojha, I, p. 424 and Reu, I, pp. 218-19.
   According to the author of *Maathir-ul-Umara* the title of Maharaja was conferred upon Jaswantsingh in the 29th regnal year of Shah Jahan's reign. But as Waris and Kambu are near contemporary authorities for the reign of Shah Jahan and they also give the exact date when the title was conferred upon the Rathor ruler the dates given by them have been accepted. *Khyat* writers also confirm that the title was conferred upon Jaswantsingh in V. S. 1710 (A. D. 1653-54). Ojha and Reu have, however, preferred to follow *Maathir-ul-Umara*.
7. *Waris*, II, p. 56.

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him 'peshkash'.[1] When Shah Jahan went to congratulate Dara Shukoh at his residence he also awarded *khilats* to his well-wishers. There Maharaja Jaswantsingh was also awarded a *khilat* on February 23, 1655.[2]

On April 29, 1655, Jaswantsingh proceeded to Mathura to marry the daughter of Biram *alias* Sarvadeo Sisodiya. On this occasion Shah Jahan awarded Rs. 10,000/- by way of grant-in-aid to the Maharaja's would be father-in-law. Thence, Jaswantsingh was allowed to proceed to Jodhpur.[3]

Next year (1656) according to the *Khyats* of Marwar, Jalor was given to Jaswantsingh by the Mughal Emperor.[4] It appears that the pargana of Jalor was given to Jaswantsingh when he returned to Mughal Court at Agra on January 16, 1656.[5]

In March 1657, the Sindhals revolted against the authority of the Rathor Ruler. Muhata Nensi was deputed to subdue the rebels which he did quite successfully and the two important centres of the Sindhals, namely, Panchota and Kabalan were devastated.[6]

The narrative of the first twenty years of Maharaja Jaswantsingh's reign makes it clear that during this period Marwar was completely reduced to the status of a vassal state. The period of Marwar's cordiality with Delhi which began with the accession of Mota Raja Udaisingh ended with the conclusion of the well-known war of succession among the sons of Shah Jahan in the year 1657. The Rulers of the Rathor kingdom during the period 1583-1678 served and strengthened the cause of Marwar in the hope of getting ever increasing favours from their contemporary monarchs at Delhi. The heroic deeds performed by Mota Raja Udaisingh and his successors in the various wars fought by them for the cause

1. *Warris*, II, p. 78.
2. ibid., p. 94.
3. ibid., pp. 99-100; Kambu, III, pp. 204-5; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; Reu, I, p. 219.
4. *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, pp. 114-15; Reu, I, p. 219.
   Also see *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya* by Dr. Raghuvirsing, p. 96. The *Khyats* of Marwar do not give the date when Jalor war assigned to Jaswantsingh by Emperor Shah Jahan.
5. *Waris*, II, p. 121.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 247-48; Ojha, I, p. 424; Reu, I, p. 219.

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of Mughal rule in Hindustan were rewarded by the Emperor Akbar and his descendants in the form of various grants, *khilats*, *mansabs* and *jagirs*. Thus during the period 1583-1657, Marwar became one of the powerful Rajput States in Rajasthan. Naturally, therefore, on the eve of the War of Succession, Jaswantsingh was one of the powerful Rajput rulers of his times. As a result of constant favours he had not only obtained the high mansab of 6,000 Zat and Sawar rank but he had attained a unique position in the whole of the Mughal Empire.[1] Now, with the outbreak of the War of Succession, Jaswantsingh was provided with opportunities one after the other to play a leading role in the politics of Hindustan. Thus, the year 1658 was not only an epoch making year in the History of Mughal India, but it was also a turning point in the annals of Marwar.

'Jaswantsingh played a comparatively subordinate part during the illness of Shah Jahan' (1657). When the Emperor's sons, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad, who were sent by him to govern the three vast dominions of the Empire (Bengal, Deccan and Gujrat respectively), came to know of his illness, each one of them began to manoeuvre to seize the throne by surpassing the claims of the other brothers. However, as a result of their common jealousy for Dara, they combined themselves against him.[2] "It is clear," writes Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena, "that the advance of Shuja from Bengal, and of Murad and Aurangzeb from the Deccan was according to a preconcerted agreement among them, in which they promised to meet near Agra."[3]

Meanwhile, Shah Jahan had completely recovered by October, 1658. On being informed by Dara Shukoh that Shuja crowned himself and was advancing from Bengal, the Mughal Emperor consented to send an army against him under Raja Jaisingh and Prince Sulaiman Shukoh. By sending his most trusted friends and best generals to encounter Shuja, Dara had thus greatly weakened himself.

Meantime equally alarming news came from Gujrat. Murad also crowned himself on November 20, 1657. Here Dara tried in vain to play the part of a diplomat by transferring Murad

1. *Alamgirnama*, p. 32 : رکن و رکین دولت و ستون قویم سلطنت
2. *Zafarnama-i-Alamgiri*, f. 9; Banarsi Prasad, p. 324.
3. Banarsi Prasad, p. 324.

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from Gujrat to Berar (Deccan).[1] Thus Dara hoped to set Aurangzeb against Murad. But Murad stubbornly refused to comply with the orders which apparently reflected the plans and motives of *Waliahad* Dara Shukoh. On the other hand news arrived at Agra that Murad and Aurangzeb had allied themselves and their combined forces were marching towards Agra. Thereupon Shah Jahan called his nobles and asked them to march towards Deccan to deal with the two rebel Princes. One by one the nobles declined to accept command of the Imperial armies on the pretext that unless a Prince of Royal blood was sent with them they had not the courage to march against the two Shahzadas.[2] But Jaswantsingh could not disobey the Emperor's commands as he was invariably treated with great favour and esteem by the Emperor. So, he alone offered his services to fight Aurangzeb.[3] Dara wanted to remove Shaista Khan from the Subahdari of Malwa as he was apprehended to be in league with Aurangzeb. Hence, Jaswantsingh's offer to march against the Shahzadas was readily accepted and he was appointed successor to Shaista Khan in Malwa.[4] Qasim Khan, another important grandee of the Empire, was successfully pursuaded to undertake an expedition against the recalcitrant Murad.[5] Thus, Shah Jahan despatched two separate armies to deal with Murad and Aurangazeb under the leadership of Qasim Khan and Jaswant singh respectively.[6] It appears from the Persian as well as Rajasthani

1. Aqil Khan Razi, p. 12.
2. مصدر مجرائی نیکو خدمتے شویم —Ishwardas, f. 18 (a).
3. Ishwardas, f. 18 (a) ; *Surajprakash*, p. 32.
4. Aqil Khan, p. 12; Kambu, III, p. 284; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 824; *Alamgirnama* (p. 32) and Khafi Khan (VII, p. 216), however, give the impression that Dara made Malwa his own *ikta* and devoted all its revenues to the payments of his officers.
5. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 1 ; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754 ; Sarkar, I & II, p. 285; *Vir Vinod*, p. 324 ; Ojha, I, p. 428 ; and *Ratlam-ka-Pratham Rajya*, p. 109.
6. Ishwardas (f. 19a). Chronicles of Marwar *(Kaviraja Khyat*, f. 3 and Reu, I, p. 220) and Manucci (p. 258) give the impression that Qasim Khan was appointed as an auxiliary Commander with Jaswantsingh. But this is not correct by any means. Aqil Khan and Mustad Khan specifically inform us that two separate armies were despatched to Gujrat and Malwa under the commands of Qasim Khan and Jaswantsingh respectively (See Aqil Khan, p. 12; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 1. Also see Elliot, VII, p. 216; Sarkar, I & II, p. 285 and Banarsi Prasad, p. 327).

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sources that on the eve of his departure for Ujjain, Shah Jahan had raised Jaswantsingh's mansab to 7,000 Zat and Sawar rank.[1] He was sent at the head of a large army consisting of 266 Imperial Mansabdars, 1,000 Barkandaz and 23,244 horsemen.[2] But while giving leave to the three armies sent from Agra against Shuja, Murad and Aurangzeb, Shah Jahan had besought their generals to spare the lives of his younger sons, to try at first to send them back to their provinces, by fair words if possible, otherwise by demonstration of force, and not, except in extreme need, to resort to deadly battle.[3]

With these words Maharaja Jaswantsingh, the governor designate of Malwa, was despatched to Ujjain from Agra on December 17, 1657.[4] It appears from a contemporary Rajasthani chronicle, the author of which was an eye-witness, that Jaswantsingh took the route to Ujjain via Fatehpur Sikri, Hindaun, Lakheri, Kota and Mukandra Pass and reached Kalihadeh, a place 3 kos N. of Ujjain on Sunday the 24th January 1658.[5] Thence he reached

1. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 754; Bhimsen, I, p. 23; Kambu, III, p. 284. *Alamgirnama* and *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, however, inform us that the title of Maharaja was conferred upon Jaswantsingh at this time which is not correct. Ishwardas writes that Maharaja was awarded *Khasa Khilat*, sword, elephant and horse on the eve of his departure for Ujjain (See Ishwardas, f. 18b. Also see Manucci, I, p. 258, who says that splendid presents were conferred upon Maharaja at this time).

   Khadiya Jagga puts Shah Jahan's farewell to Jaswantsingh in these words:—

   दिया बधारा देस दे है वर द्रव्व हसन्ति ।
   पातिसाही धां उप्परां थूं कहिया असपति ॥

   —*Bachnika*, p. 66, v. II

2. *Pancholy*, f. 6 (a). Details of the Maharaja's army have been given in Appendix II.
3. *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai*, f. 45 (b); Manucci, I, p. 258; Sarkar, I & II, p. 285.
4. *Pancholy*, f. 24 (a). According to *Alamgirnama* (p. 33) Jaswantsingh left Agra for Ujjain on Rabi-al-awwal, A. H. 1068 (Dec. 18, 1657). A contemporary chronicle, referred to as *Pancholy* MS., recently brought to light, says that Jaswantsingh left Akbarabad (Agra) on 7 dark half of Paush, V.S. 1714 (Dec. 17, 1657). It appears that the author of this MS. was in the retinue of the Maharaja. Moreover, the MS. seems to be an eye-witness account of the daily doings of Maharaja. One day's difference usually occurs in the Hindu and Muslim calendars. Hence, 17 Dec. 1657 has been accepted as the date of Jaswant's departure from Agra for Ujjain.
5. ibid. See Appendix III for detailed route of Jaswantsingh from Agra to Ujjain.

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Ujjain on February 6, 1658.[1] Here Jaswantsingh was informed of the march of Murad from Gujrat (March 20, 1658).[2] He, therefore, immediately left Ujjain on March 21 and arrived at Khachraud within two or three days.[3] Here it is necessary to say a word regarding the movement of Jaswantsingh from Ujjain to Khachraud. Aqil Khan informs us that 'Raja Jaswantsingh had been assigned governorship (*iyalat*) of Malwa with the instruction that if Murad Baksh hesitated to leave Gujrat, the Raja was to help Qasim Khan in driving him away to the Deccan and then return to Ujjain'. While Jaswantsingh was at Khachraud he was informed by Raja Shivram Gaur that Aurangzeb had reached Mandwa and was about to cross the river Narmada.[4] He actually crossed Narmada at Handia on April 3, 1658.[5] Therefore, Jaswantsingh rushed back to Ujjain.[6] But Murad and Aurangzeb had already joined each other near Depalpur on April 14, 1658 before the Maharaja could check their individual onward march.[7] From Depalpur, Aurangzeb sent one messenger named Kavi Rai with the following message for Raja Jaswantsingh: "As the object of my march is to pay my respects to the Emperor and to enquire

1. *Pancholy*, f. 24 (a). According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar Jaswantsingh reached Ujjain at the end of February, 1658 while according to *Khyats* he reached Ujjain on January 13, 1658. Both these dates are not acceptable.
2. *Pancholy*, f. 24 (a).
3. *Pancholy*, f. 25 (a); *Alamgirnama*, p. 57; Sarkar, I & II, p. 348. Kachraud is a Railway Station between Kota Junction and Ratlam (Broad Gauge of Western Railway).
4. *Pancholy*, f. 25 (a); *Alamgirnama*, p. 57; Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 217-18; Sarkar, I & II, p. 348.
5. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 56-58 ; Smith, *Oxford History*, pp. 409-10 ; Sarkar, I & II, p. 346; *Ratlam-ka-Pratham Rajya*, p. 113.
6. Ishwardas informs us that Maharaja Jaswantsingh reached Ujjain 10 days before Aurangzeb's arrival there. Hence, Dr. Raghuvir Singh has decided April 5, 1658, as the date of Maharaja's return to Ujjain (see Ishwardas, f. 19 (a); *Ratlam-ka-Pratham Rajya*, p. 112).
7. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 50, 52, 55-56; Ishwardas, f. 17 (b); Kambu, III, pp. 285-86; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 345-46.

   Aurangzeb marched from Burhanpur with an army 30,000 strong on 1st Rajab, A.H. 1068 (25 March 1658). See Aqil Khan, p. 14. Further, Aqil Khan says that Prince Sultan Mohammed, received his uncle Murad on the bank of the pond of Depalpur on the 19th Rajab, A. H. 1068 (12 April 1658) and both the brothers met each other on April 13 (see Aqil Khan, p. 14).

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about his health, you should desist from foolish and impudent opposition, but come to see me; you should also refrain from an enterprise that is quite beyond your capacity, and save the people from the onslaught of the victorious army".[1] But Jaswantsingh being a faithful servant of the Mughal Empire tried to explain his position to the Prince in words befitting the dignity and chivalry of a Rajput Raja. The Maharaja wrote to the Prince, "As I have been deputed to this duty from the Royal throne, there is no alternative for me but to devote my life to its performance without stepping beyond my proper sphere. If your Highness will go back and not proceed any further without His Majesty's permission it will be possible to avoid battle, otherwise I should be excused of this insolence."[2] Thus, Jaswantsingh did not open negotiations with Aurangzeb 'in mortal fear'. Now the only course open for Jaswantsingh was to block the way of the joint forces of Aurangzeb and Murad. The forces of the two Shahzadas also marched with redoubled strength and confidence in the direction of Ujjain to encounter Jaswantsingh. In the evening of Thursday, 15 April 1658, Aurangzeb encamped at the village of Dharmat, on the eastern bank of the river Ghambhiri and decided to fight the enemy next day.[3]

1. Aqil Khan, p. 14; Ishwardas f. 19 (a); *Alamgirnama*, p. 58; *Bachnika*, p. 16, vv. 40-42; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 218; Sarkar, I & II, p. 344, and pp. 348-49. *Ratlam-ka-Pratham Rajya*, p. 114. Kavirai met Jaswantsingh in Ujjain (see *Alamgirnama*, pp. 56-58). Purport of Aurangzeb's letter to Jaswantsingh as given in *Bachnika*, p. 16 :

आरंग साह मुराद हम मिसि सिक्खँ फुरमाण
राजा राह म रोकि तूं साह लगें दे जाण
राडि न करि इक तरफ राहि आगे पौछे आव
जोह दिली फिरि जाहरयां परसि असपति पाव
जसवंत सुणेजबाव जब आगा कहिया श्रुमि
मा धां आज मेल्हिया कहा जाण छूं केमि

2. Aqil Khan, p. 14 ; Reu, I, pp ;-221-222. Sarkar, I & II, p. 349. Also see *Alamgirnama*, pp. 56-58 and 60, and Ishwardas, f. 19 (a).
3. Ishwardas, f. 19; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 56-58 and 60, Kambu, III, p. 286, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*; p. 2, Sarkar, I & II, pp. 347 and 349.
Dharmat is situated in 25° N. and 75° 43' E. It is 14 miles South-West of Ujjain and hardly a mile north of Fatehabad Chandravatiganj Railway Station on the Western Railway (Metre gauge) between Ratlam and Indore.

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Meanwhile, Jaswantsingh also marched from Ujjain and encamped opposite Dharmat, to block the path of the enemy coming up from the south.[1] Here Jaswantsingh was informed that the joint forces of the two Shahzadas were only within a day's march of him.[2] When Jaswantsingh came to know of this he was much perplexed for he could not decide whether to give fight to the *Shahzadas* or to let them proceed towards Agra because at every moment he was being reminded of Shah Jahan's parting commands. He, therefore, called a council of war. Everybody proposed that battle must be fought.[3] On the night preceding Friday the 16th April 1658, Askaran Nibabat proposed, "The two princes have drawn up their guns in front of us.....The artillery of the other side will annihilate (the Rajputs). If you only give order, I with 4,000 of our men shall fall on their artillery at midnight, slay the gunners and capture the guns. Thereafter the enemy will not have strength enough to defeat us in a pitched battle". But Jaswantsingh replied in the traditional Rajput spirit, "It is inconsistent with Rajput custom to employ strategem or to make a night attack."[4] It appears that both sides wanted to avoid a battle. But when nothing could come out of the parleys the parties had to prepare themselves for the encounter.[5]

1. Ishwardas, f. 19; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 56-57 and 60; Kambu, III, p. 286; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 347 and 349; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, pp. 115-16. According to *Pancholy* (f. 26 a) Jaswantsingh encamped at Chornarayana, a village then said to be very near Dharmat. But in tope sheet No. 36 no such village is mentioned. It appears it is now extinct. *Jodhpur Khyat* also confirms that Jaswantsingh encamped at Chornarayana (see *Jodhpur Khyat* I, p. 206).
2. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 56-58 and 60; Kambu, III, p. 286; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 218; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 347 & 349.
3. *Bachnika*, pp. 14-19; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, pp. 118-19.
4. Ishwardas, f. 20; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 354-55; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, p. 119.
5. When the war could not be avoided Aurangzeb asked the Qazies to recite Quran while in Jaswantsingh's camp Vedas were recited just before the dinner (15 April 1638).

जसवन्त औरंग साह जब वेद कूतेब वचाडीके ।
वे छत्रपति वहरिसया रचि वीथे दिन राडि ॥

—*Bachnika*, p. 38, v. 55.

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Jaswantsing in hot haste took his position in a low and uneven ground with many ups and downs. Further, by cutting the bank of a nearby tank he made a piece of 200 yards of land muddy. Before the commencement of the battle Aurangzeb sent his son to pursuade the Maharaja to let him go to Agra and the Maharaja also sent his Vakil to dissuade Aurangzeb from proceeding towards Agra at the head of a large army.[1]

On Friday Rajab 22, 1068 (9 dark half of Baishakh, v.s. 1715), i.e., on April 16, 1658, Jaswantsingh and Qasim Khan drew up their troops on this narrow and uneven ground and marched to fight.[2]

Qasim Khan with his 10,000 men led the van of the Imperial army. Mukandsingh Hada of Kota, Dayaldas Jhala, Sujansingh Sisodiya and Arjunsingh Gaur with Kota contingent were posted in the vanguard. Iftikhar Khan commanded the left wing of the Imperial amy while Raisingh Sisodiya with his 5,000 horsemen was posted in the right wing. Jaswantsingh himself took his position in the centre with his 10,000 valiant Rathors. Devisingh Bundela, Maloji and Parsoji were kept in the rear in charge of the camp.[3]

According to Aqil Khan, author of *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri*, the left wing of Aurangzeb's side was commanded by his son Sultan Mohammad with 5,000 horsemen while Najabat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, like an iron hill, stationed himself in front of the army. The right wing was in charge of Shaikh Mir and the Van was commanded by Zulfiquar Khan with 7,000 valiant soldiers. The artillery under the command of Murshad Quli Khan was placed before Zulfiquar Khan's lines. The right and left flanks were in charge of Bahadur Khan and Islam Khan respectively. Aurangzeb himself occupied

1. *Alamgirnama*, p. 64 ; Kambu, III, p. 286 ; *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai Mir Masum*, f. 46(b)-47(b) ; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, pp. 119-120.
2. *Pancholy*, f. 26(a) ; Aqil Khan, p. 14 ; *Alamgirnama*, p. 61 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 2 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 219 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 824; *Bachnika*, pp. 78-81.
3. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 65-66 ; Ishwardas, f. 20(a) ; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 352-53 and pp. 358-59 ; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, p. 121.
   Aqil Khan has also described the arrangement of Imperial troops at Dharmat. Though he was a contemporary historian, the authenticity of his details are not free from doubt for he was in the enemy's camp (see Aqil Khan, p. 15).

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the centre with 7,000 soldiers consisting of his special bodyguards (*Jan-bazan-chauki-i-khas*) while Murad stationed himself with his army separately on the left.[1]

The first shot was fired a couple of hours after the sunrise and the offensive was taken by the Imperial army headed by Mukand Singh Hada.[2] Aurangzeb also ordered artillery to fire.[3] The battle raged violently, and soon the troops of both sides came to grips fighting furiously with their swords and spears.[4] Murshad Quli Khan was wounded by an arrow and he died instantaneously. In an attempt to check the Rajputs, Zulfiquar Khan also lost his life.[5] The ranks of Aurangzeb's army began to shake. But Murad saved the situation by immediately rushing to the help of the left wing, while Najabat Khan pierced Rajputs with his spear.[6] Once more the battle blazed forth in full fury. The imperialists were at a disadvantage of being posted in a narrow place. Hence, they could not use their full resources on account of insufficient space and the swamp.[7] However, Jaswantsingh and the other Rajput leaders carried on the conflict till midday. As many as 40 prominent Rajput Chiefs and a large number of Rajput soldiers were killed.[8] The

1. Aqil Khan, pp. 15-16.
   Details given in *Alamgirnama* differ materially from the one given by Aqil Khan. As Aqil Khan's account is unbiased and unaffected by any undue influence, details of the arrangement of forces as given by him have been accepted. According to *Alamgirnama* Prince Sultan Mohammed, Shujat Khan, Najabat Khan, Saiyyid Muzaffar Barha and Saiyyid Nasiruddin Deccani were appointed by Aurangzeb in his *haraval*. Zulfiquar Khan was posted as the Commander of the artillery while Murad was kept in the right side of the army (See *Alamgirnama*, pp. 61-63).
2. *Alamgirnama*, p. 61 ; Sarkar I & II, p. 359 ; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, p. 120.
3. Aqil Khan, p. 15 ; Ishwardas, f. 20 (b) ; *Ratlam-ka-Pratham Rajya*, p. 121.
4. Aqil Khan, p. 15 ; Manucci, p. 259 ; Sarkar I & II, p. 360.
5. Ishwardas, f. 21 (a) ; Aqil Khan, p. 15 ; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 70-71 ; Kambu, III, pp. 286-87 ; Sarkar, I & II, pp. 360-61 ; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, p. 122.
6. Aqil Khan, p. 15 ; Kambu, III, pp. 286-87 ; Manucci, I, p. 259; *Ratan Raso*, pp. 126-27.
7. Aqil Khan, p. 16.
8. Ishwardas, f. 21 (a) ; Aqil Khan, p. 16 ; Kambu, III, pp. 286-87 ; *Ratan Raso*, pp. 126-27.

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artillery was once again given orders to fire with all force.[1] At this critical hour Raisingh Sisodiya, Amarsingh Chandrawat and Sujansingh Bundela withdrew themselves from active charge leaving the right wing of the Imperial army fully exposed to the attack of Aurangzeb's forces.[2] Devsingh Bundela betrayed by joining Murad, while the two Maratha leader, Maloji and Parsoji, fled from the field.[3] Qasim Khan was equally inactive and was preparing himself for the flight.[4] Jaswantsingh in spite of being wounded continued to encourage his followers to carry on the struggle.[5] But his troops were also hard-pressed. In these circumstances, Rathor Raimal Jodha called upon his clansmen to save the life of their leader. The purport of his timely address has been handed down to posterity by a contemporary poet in these words :—

ठाकुरी सतरंज रौ ख्याल मडियो
राजा राखौ
राजा राखियै बाजी रहै
आये तो अणी वाटटि हरवल दिया तठै बंधेज कीयो हीज छै
साहजहां जीवतौ ही मूवौ
औरंगसाह पातिसाह हूवौ
सामि सूं संग्राम करण
औछी वाढौ
जसराज काडौ
वांगा भालि जसराज वलिया
भारत रा भरमार रतनागिर भलिया ॥७४॥

Thereafter, Jaswantsingh was forced to leave the field by his nobles, Askaran Nibabat and Maheshdas. They seized the bridle of his mare Mahbubjahan and the Rathor Chief was taken out of the

1. Ishwardas, f. 21; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 66-67; *Ratan Raso*, p. 126.
2. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 70-71; *Ratan Raso*, p. 126 ; Sarkar, I & II, p. 364; Reu, I, p. 223.
3. Ishwardas, f. 21 (a); *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, p. 124.
4. Bernier, p. 38; Manucci, I, p. 259; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 206 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 824; Reu, I, p. 222.
5. *Pancholy*, f. 26 (b); Aqil Khan, p. 16; Ishwardas, f. 21 (b).
6. *Bachnika*, p. 60, v. 74 ; *Pancholy*, f. 26 (b) ; Ishwardas, f. 21 (b) ; Manucci, I, pp. 259-60 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 207.

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battlefield.[1] Thus forced to quit the battle Jaswantsingh had no other choice but to leave for Jodhpur. He was replaced by Ratansingh Rathor as the Commander of the remaining Imperial army.[2] The remaining force was no match for Aurangzeb's vast army. Naturally, therefore, Ratansingh with about 2,000 Rajput heroes fell fighting on the field of Chornarayana.[3] Thereafter, Aurangzeb formally announced his victory. He was then and there congratulated for his grand success by his followers.

A very important cause of the Maharaja's defeat was the heterogeneous composition of the Imperial army that was sent under his nominal leadership. The Muslim troopers owed their allegiance more to Qasim Khan than to Jaswantsingh and all of them conspired with the former in concealing greater portion of ammunition in sand[4] during the night preceding April 16, 1658. Similarly, the Rajput troops being moved by their clanish interests attached more importance to their individual leaders than obeying the command of the Generalissimo.[5] Thus, the Imperial army, for all practical purposes, lacked unity and solidarity.

Moreover, the Rajputs were backward in artillery fight.[6] Hence they were easily annihilated when Aurangzeb ordered Murshad Quli Khan to fire. The Imperial army also badly lacked French and English Gunners which Aurangzeb had the advantage to possess on

1. *Pancholy*, f. 26 (b); Ishwardas, f. 21 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 207; *Bachnika*, p. 60, v. 74.

   The following nobles were with Maharaja Jaswantsingh when he left Dharmat : (1) Maheshdas, (2) Karnot Asha Nibabat, (3) Rathor Amra, (4) Jagmal, (5) Sahsa Savlot, (6) Solanki Uda Savlot, (7) Chauhan Bhana, (8) Jogidas, (9) Purabia Udaisingh, (10) Solanki Ida, (11) Solanki Sura, (*vide* copy of *Kaviraja Khyat*, ff. 10-11, in Archives Office, Bikaner.)

   Route of Jaswant Singh from Dharmat to Jodhpur has been described separately (see Appendix IV).
2. *Ratan Raso*, p. 133; *Ratlam ka Pratham Rajya*, p. 126.
3. *Khyats* of Marwar give a long list of about 2,000 Rajput heroes who fell fighting in the battle of Dharmat (See *Jodhpur Khyat*, I , pp. 207 and 223; *Kaviraja Khyat*, ff. 4-10).
4. Bernier, p. 38; Manucci, I, p. 259.
5. *Ratan Raso*, p. 126; Elphinstone, p. 521; Sarkar, I & II, p. 364; *Dara Shukoh*, p. 243.
6. *vide* Askaran Nibabat's address to Jaswantsingh on 15 April 1658 already referred to above.

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his side in this battle.[1] "It was truly a contest between sword and gunpowder" writes Sir Jadunath, "and artillery triumphed over cavalry."[2] Naturally, therefore, the extraordinary valour displayed by Maharaja Jaswantsingh in this battle of gunpowder proved of no use.

The Imperial army, after having being routed, was pursued three or four Kos.[3] But Jaswantsingh managed to escape safely. He reached Jodhpur on April 29, 1658 *via* Pipaldeo, Mandsor, Neemuch, Kapasan, Kumbhelmer and Sojat.[4]

With the flight of Jaswantsingh is attached a story according to which the crest-fallen knight is said to have been refused entrance by his proud and sensitive Rani.[5] It has been recorded by Bernier and also supported by Manucci that Maharaja was refused entry inside the Fort Palace (by closing the doors) by his Rani because he fled from the battlefield.[6] Narrative of the foreign travellers has also been reiterated by Khafi Khan and Jahanara Begum.[7] Though other contemporary Persian sources have mentioned this story and the *Khyat* writers have also omitted it, yet the account given by the contemporary foreign travellers, who had no special grudge against Maharaja Jaswantsingh, cannot be easily brushed aside. Moreover, Bernier was himself present in Rajasthan just after this incident. Such tales of pride and chivalry on the part of Rajput women are common. Bernier, who was an impartial observer, took pains to gather details of the happenings and mentioned the fact of uncordial reception in a manner it grew current. The subsequent action of Maharaja Jaswantsingh also supports the story narrated by Bernier, Manucci and Khafi Khan. Soon after

1. Sarkar, I and II, p. 355.
2. ibid.
3. *Pancholy*, f. 34 (b); Aqil Khan, p. 16; Kamby, III, p. 287.
4. *Pancholy*, f. 36 (b); also see Ojha, I, p. 435 and Reu, I, p. 225.
5. According to Bernier the Rani was the daughter of Maharana of Udaipur. But According to the *Khyats*, no wife of Maharaja Jaswantsingh was a daughter of the Rana. Howewer, his wife, the well-known Hadi Rani, was the sister-in-law of Rana Rajsingh of Mewad. (see Bernier, pp. 40-41; also see *Vir Vinod*, p. 825, f. n. i. and Tod, II, p. 982).
6. Bernier, pp. 40-41; Manucci, I, pp. 260-61.
7. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 231; *Life of a Mogul Princess* by Mrs. Andrea Butensehan (1931), pp. 72-73.

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his arrival at Jodhpur Jaswantsingh, who was given admission by his Rani on the pursuation of her mother, left for Merta to derive advantage of the civil wars among the sons of Emperor Shah Jahan. Hence the story is worthy of acceptance despite the fact that some of the modern historians of Marwar have tried to prove this story as false (since it is based on hearsay). Apparently this criticism has a breadth of sentimentalism. The centuries-old tradition and the wide acceptance of this story makes us also believe that the Rani must have given cold reception to her husband whose action was un-Rajput like.

Jaswantsingh, after having reached Jodhpur from Dharmat, sent for his lieutenant Sundar Das from Jalor who came to Jodhpur on May 4, 1658. The Maharaja appointed him to look after the administration of Jodhpur and himself proceeded towards Merta.[1] While he was at Merta he received the information that Rana Rajsingh intended to besiege Ajmer. So, Jaswantsingh left Merta on May 26, 1658 and reached Ajmer after five stages.[2] Here on June 15, 1658 he received the information of Dara's defeat at the hands of Aurangzeb in the battle of Samugarh on May 29, 1658.[3]

Thereafter, Jaswantsingh received a Firman from Aurangzeb who was then busy in the pursuit of Prince Dara Shukoh, calling upon the Maharaja to proceed from Ajmer to Jodhpur.[4] It appears Jaswantsingh did not then comply with the orders of Aurangzeb. However, after some time he sent Maheshdas, his former Diwan, to wait on the new Emperor.[5] He himself left Ajmer on July 12, 1658 to attend Aurangzeb's court and paid his homage to him in September, 1658 on the banks of the River Sutlej.[6] He was allowed to leave for Jahanabad (Delhi) after a couple of days. On the eve of his departure he was awarded a *khasa khilat*, sword,

1. *Pancholy*, f. 37 (a).
2. ibid., f. 37 (b).
3. ibid., f. 39 (b).
4. ibid.
   Jodhpur Khyat, I, p. 228; *Vir Vinod*, p. 826; Ojha, I, p. 441; Reu, I, p. 226. Khafi Khan's story of Raja Jaswantsingh's sending his Vakil to Aurangzeb asking forgiveness of his offences seems to be wrong. (See Khafi Khan, VII, p. 231).
5. *Pancholy*, f. 39 (b).
6. *Alamgirnama*, p. 183; Ishwardas, f. 39 (a) ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 5 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 826 ; Ojha, pp. 440-41 ; Reu, I, p. 226.

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dagger, elephants, five parganas worth one crore namely Narnaul, Kaithel, Rohtak, Athgaon and Muham besides the parganas of Nagore, Ujjain, Depalpur and Badnor. He left Sutlej on September 20, 1658 and reached Delhi on October 2, 1658.[1]

Aurangzeb himself proceeded towards Thatta *via* Multan while pursuing the fugitive Dara (October, 1658). But he soon returned to Delhi in November, 1658. Jaswantsingh went ahead to receive the Emperor, and was awarded a *Khasa-khilat* and a robe (*Nadari*) on November 23, 1658.

Here Aurangzeb received the news of the March of Shah Shuja in the direction of Delhi. So, Alamgir marched against him from there (Delhi) in the direction of Allahabad on December 4, 1658, and reached his destination (Allahabad) on December 30, after two halts—one at Jahangirabas on December 12 and the other at Soron on December 21.[3] No sooner did the Emperor reach there he formed his plan of the battle and assigned to each division its proper position on January 3, 1659. Jaswantsingh was posted in the right wing[4] where he met one Muazzam Khan who was also released from prison by Aurangzeb on the eve of the battle of Khajwa. Both had been victims of the wrath of Emperor Alamgir. So both of them came closer with each other in no time. During parleys it was decided between them that Jaswantsingh should create disturbance in the morning of January 5, 1659, and thus indirectly help Shuja in defeating Emperor Aurangzeb.[5] By getting Aurangzeb defeated at the hands of his own brother, Jaswantsingh wanted to reinstall Shah Jahan as Emperor of Hindustan.[6] With this object the Maharaja entered into a conspiracy with Alam-

1. *Pancholy*, f. 41 (a) ; *Alamgirnama*, p. 189 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 5; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 228 ; Ojha, I, p. 441 ; Reu, I, p. 226.
2. *Alamgirnama*. p. 220 ; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 755 ; Reu, I, p. 227.
3. *Pancholy*, f. 42; *Aurangzebnama*, I, pp. 37-39 ; Sarkar, I & II, p. 476.
4. *Pancholy*, f. 43 (a) ; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 755 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 7 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 826 ; Sarkar, I & II, p. 482.
   According to *Alamgirnama* Jaswantsingh was posted in the left wing of the army while Manucci informs us that he was posted in the rear of the army (see *Alamgirnama*, p. 246 ; Manucci, I, p. 329).
5. Bhimsen, I, pp. 31-32; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 233.
6. Aqil Khan, p. 37; Bhimsen, I, p. 32; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 229-30

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gir's opponent, Shah Shuja, and undertook to make sudden assault upon the Imperial army just before day-break and to desert it after doing as much mischief as he could. "When I do this," said he (Jaswantsingh), "the king (Aurangzeb) will come in pursuit of me, you (Shuja) must then charge sharply upon his forces."[1] Shuja, on his part, confirmed the offer and sent Kavaid Khan to the Maharaja offering him to join him. Jaswantsingh also sent one Jogidas to inform the Prince that he did not think it wise to change the horses at the eleventh hour, but he would separate himself from the Imperial forces in the early hours of January 5, 1659 as per understanding.[2] The Maharaja actually turned his back and after looting the Imperial camp proceeded towards Jodhpur *via* Itawah on January 5, 1659.

There were other reasons also which induced Jaswantsingh to turn his back at Khajwa. Aurangzeb, suspecting (him) of some treachery, ordered him the night preceding January 5 to take charge of the rear-guard and thus wanted to remove the Raja to some distance. Since he was then unwell also, he decided to quit the field immediately.[3] Bhimsen gives another reason of his flight. According to him when the Raja came to know that Muazzam Khan had divulged the secret of his entering into conspiracy with Shah Shuja he decided to leave the Imperial army for he apprehended some serious danger from the Emperor.[4] "Everything in Aurangzeb's camp was swept away with the broom of plunder." In the confusion some double dealers went over to Shuja. But Shuja could not dare take advantage of the confusion caused by the flight of Jaswantsingh because Aurangzeb had already written a forged letter to him on the receipt of information of Jaswant's intended treachery from Muazzam Khan.[5] Thus, by a clever stratagem Aurangzeb saved the situation. That is why when he was informed of Jaswantsingh's desertion he then did not lose patience and presence of mind and only waved his head as if to say, "If he is gone, let him go".

1. Aqil Khan, p. 37; *Massir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 7; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 233; *Vir Vinod*, p. 826; Sarkar, I & II, p. 482.
2. Ishwardas, f. 40 (b).
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 229; Manucci, I, p. 329.
4. Bhimsen, I, p. 33.
5. Bhimsen I, p. 32.

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On the other hand Alamgir took it as a God-sent omen for his victory over Shuja.[1]

The action of Jaswantsingh on the eve of the battle of Khajwa deserves critical analysis. Aurangzeb himself, however, accused him of treachery not befitting the dignity of a Rajput.[2] Contemporary Persian historians have also charged him with treachery. But according to another contemporary Persian historian Aqil Khan and the *Khyat* writers of Marwar, Jaswantsingh's motive was not personal benefit. He wanted to champion the lost cause of Shah Jahan as he felt himself more attached to the ex-Emperor than to the new one. But unfortunately his scheme could not succeed as Muazzam Khan had already informed the Emperor Aurangzeb of Jaswant's intended plan of action. But Shuja lacked in appreciating the move of Jaswantsingh. Plunder, if at all, was his secondary object. A local tradition preserved by the bards says that the Rathor Chief was at heart not happy with the Mughals[3] and at times he could not conceal his true feelings. For this reason Jaswantsingh's action on the eve of battle of Khajwa loses something of its sting.

Jaswant left Khajwa and came to Itawah on January 7, 1659.[4] Here he met Mirza Raja Jai Singh. The latter persuaded him to return to the Mughal Court.[5] Jaswantsingh accompanied

1. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 255-56; Aqil Khan, p. 37; Sarkar, I & II, p. 484.
2. Aqil Khan, p. 37; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 255-56; Sarkar, I and II, p. 483.
3. *Ajit Charitra*, p. 44.

वयांतु नित्या कपटेन भीत्या ।
तथामितौ वरे यर्शान्नितान्तम ॥
वदाम स्वं तव सेवकास्म ।
स्याद मलैच्छ नाशस्तु कदेत चिन्ते ॥

An old Marwari song corroborates the centuries-old local tradition that Maharaja Jaswantsingh I hated the Mughals.

कुतुब गोस अव ढाल

सूफी अने कलंदर, पीर जादा मिलै सांज परमात ॥
कान अवरंग रा भरै यक राहकज । वरै नह पडै जसवंत द्धते वात ॥
मोलवी कराडै अरज काजी मुला । पमडजै दैव हर दलां कर पले ॥
मेछवां छै जिको हिंद हकलिम मझ । खडो राजा जिरौ वणेनह खेल ॥
कहे मख दम जग हेक मजहब करो

—Marwari Lok Geet from Sita Ram Lalas collection.

4. *Pancholy*, f. 43 (a).
5. ibid., f. 43 (b).

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him with the intention of returning to Agra. But when he reached a place 16 miles east of Agra he dropped the idea of accompanying Mirza Raja to the Mughal capital (Agra). He took road to Jodhpur *via* Sorath, Bayana, Hindaun, Lalsot, Chatsu, Satsen, Indawad, Badar Sindari and Laopolai.[1] After his return to Jodhpur Jaswantsingh took measures to strengthen his position, as he apprehended serious danger from the Emperor. According to Bernier he collected a huge army with the help of money he looted at Khajwa.[2] Ishwar Das Nagar says that he had even rallied a big force at Mandor.[3] He came to know that his own nephew Rai Singh was deputed by Alamgir along with Amin Khan to besiege Jodhpur. Rai Singh was not only given the title of Raja but was also promised the *gadi* of Marwar.[4] The Maharaja was also informed that Aurangzeb was himself marching towards Ajmer. Jaswant sent a force under Muhata Nensi to Merta and himself proceeded to Siwana to lodge his family in that strong fortress.[5]

Aurangzeb was apprehending an alliance between Jaswantsingh and Dara who was in Ahmedabad since February 1659. So, he persuaded Jai Singh to write a letter to Jaswantsingh to submit to him. Jaswantsingh had already extended an invitation to the fugitive Dara and promised him help in recovering his throne.[6]

1. *Pancholy*, f. 42 (b) and 44 (a).
2. Bernier, p. 85.
3. Ishwardas, f. 42 (b).
4. *Pancholy*, f. 46 (a); *Alamgirnama*, p. 326; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 32; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 14; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 237. Aurangzeb despatched an army against Jaswantsingh on 4 February 1659.
5. *Pancholy*, f. 44 (a); Ishwardas, f. 42 (b); *Kaviraja Khyat*, folio 11 (copy in Rajasthan Archives Office, Bikaner).
6. *Alamgirnama*, p. 300; Aqil Khan, p. 41; Bhimsen. I, p. 33; Bernier, p. 85; Manucci, I, p. 339; Tod, II, p. 983; Ojha, I, p. 445; *Dara Shukoh*, p. 278. Dara's *Nishan* to Maharana of Udaipur dated Jamadi-ul-awwal 20, 1069 (quoted by the author of *Vir Vinod* on pp. 432-33) corroborates the fact that Jaswant had given promise of help to Dara. Reu is, however, of the opinion that Dara requested Maharaja for help (see Vol. I, p. 230). This is not correct. The following is the purport of Jaswant Singh's letter to Dara, said to have been sent to him through one Nahar Khan Rajput :—
"It was entirely out of loyalty to your Highness that I left Aurangzeb and have come here. Devotion and submission to Shah Jahan (Ala Hazrat) is engraved on my heart, and I (am prepared to) sacrifice my head and my life for your sake. In this way I hope to repay the kindness and favours your Highness has shown to me. Under the present circumstances prudence demands that you should march in this direction as soon as possible, so that I may, in your service, follow the traditions of loyalty and self-sacrifice. I am waiting for the arrival of your army with a contingent of well-organised and courageous Rajputs." (Quoted from Aqil Khan, pp. 42-43.)

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On his invitation Dara left Gujrat and was fast approaching in the direction of Ajmer.[1] He had already sent his messenger Duni Chand to the Maharaja to join him.[2] At this time the latter received Jaisingh's letter at Bilara.[3] He was promised restoration of Jodhpur, his title of Maharaja and his previous Mansab by the Mirza Raja on behalf of Alamgir. As a gesture of good-will Aurangzeb recalled his army as well and the kingdom of Jodhpur, the title of

1. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 309-11 ; Aqil Khan, p. 42 ; Bernier, p. 86 ; Munucci, I, p. 339; Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 338-39 ; *Dara Shukoh*, p. 278.
Dara left Ahmedabad on Jamed-ul-akhir 1, A. H. 1069 (14 February 1659). See Khafi Khan, VII, p. 238 and Qanungo, p. 277.
According to *Pancholy* the route of Dara's march from Ahmedabad to Ajmer was *via* Sirohi, Jalor, Katara, Sojat, Bilara and Merta.

2. *Alamgirnama*, p. 311 ; Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 238-39 ; *Dara Shukoh*, p. 282. Deo Chand was sent when Dara came to a place twenty cos distant from Jodhpur (see Khafi Khan, VII, p. 239). Subsequently, Dara sent his younger son Sipihr Shukoh to pursuade Jaswantsingh to join him. (See *Pancholy*, f. 47; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 230-31 ; Ishwardas, f. 43 (a) ; Aqil Khan, p. 42.)

   The purport of Dara's letter to Jaswantsingh and the Maharaja's reply as quoted by Aqil Khan and Bernier : "I (Dara) have come here with great speed at the request of this sincere well-wisher (Jaswantsingh). It would be against the traditions of manliness and noble birth not to fulfil your promise and to avoid an alliance with me". Jaswantsingh on receipt of the above letter from Dara said plainly, "I am a servant of the Imperial Court. To expect an alliance and assistance from me is against sense and reason. You should be grateful that I am not opposing you and am keeping myself away from this affair" (see Aqil Khan, pp. 42-43).

3. Ishwardas, f. 44 (b) ; *Alamgirnama*, p. 310 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 230-231 ; Bernier, p. 86 ; Manucci, I, p. 339, f. n. 1; *Vir Vinod*, p. 827 ; Ojha, I, p. 448.

   The purport of Jai Singh's letter to Jaswantsingh :—"It is obvious the only result of the crime you have committed will be the ruin of your kingdom and the desolation of your country. Good fortune has turned away its face from Dara Shukoh, and adversity and evil fate are in store for him. Your joining that unfortunate prince after your great crime is courting destruction. If you have any sense and reason, and wish to maintain your kingdom and status, there can be no better means for obtaining forgiveness for your past sins than that you should refrain from the ruinous design of joining Dara Shukoh and repenting of your past, turn to forgiving court of His Imperial Majesty." (letter quoted by Aqil Khan, p. 42).

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Maharaja etc. were restored to Jaswantsingh on November 13, 1659. He was also given a bait of the Subahdari of Gujrat.[1] Thereupon, Maharaja retreated to Jodhpur. Subsequent messengers from Dara could not dissuade him from his retreat. So, poor Dara was left alone to face the forces of Aurangzeb with his meagre resources. As a result of this he was finally defeated by Aurangzeb in the battle of Deorai on March 13, 1659.[2]

Jaswantsingh's attitude towards his invited guest deserves condemnation. By extending invitation to Dara he had repeated the story of his ancestor Maldeo who had also given a cold reception to the fugitive Emperor Humayun. However, Jaswantsingh's action can be defended on the ground of expediency. He had wisely realised the truth underlying the oft-quoted proverb 'one swallow does not make a summer'. Thus, by withdrawing his promised military help to Dara he had not only recovered his lost prestige and dignity at the Mughal Court, but also saved Marwar from the Imperial vengeance.

Soon after his alienation from Dara, Jaswantsingh was appointed Subahdar of Gujrat towards the end of the year 1659.[3] He continued to hold this post till the year 1662, when he received Aurangzeb's firman calling upon him to march to the Deccan to help Shaista Khan in suppressing Shivaji, the well-known Maratha leader.[4] Jaswantsingh along with Rao Baho Singh, Rao Ram Singh, Rai Singh Sisodiya, Asaf Khan, Namdar Khan, Mukhlis Khan, Qutubuddin Khan, Raja Devi Singh and other Imperial officers arrived in the Deccan by the end of the year 1662. The total force under his command was, according to Ishwar Das, 50,000 strong.[5] Shivaji surprised Shaista Khan on the night of April 5,

1. *Pancholy*, f. 49 ; Ishwardas, f. 44 (b) ; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 331-32; *Kaviraja Khyat* (Archives Office copy), f. 11; *Vir Vinod*, p. 827.
   After having received the above letter Jaswantsingh sent Asha Angholia to Mirza Raja asking for pardon from Aurangzeb. He brought the Emperor's Firman to the Maharaja [See Aqil Khan, p. 42; *Pancholy*. f. 49 (b)].
2. *Pancholy*, f. 49 (a).
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 244; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 231; Ishwardas, f. 44 (b); Nensi, A, I, p. 276 ; Kambu, III, p. 331; *Alamgirnama*, pp. 331-32.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, pp. 231-32; Bhimsen, I, p. 44 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, *Alamgirnama*, p. 647; Ishwardas, f. 50 (b) ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 253 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 827, Firman No. 1 (Archives Office, Bikaner).
5. Ishwardas, f. 50 (b).

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1663. It is usually held that Shivaji's night attack of Shaista Khan was due to the connivance or at least slothfulness of Maharaja Jaswantsingh who was encamping with his contingent of 10,000 men, on the road leading to Singhgarh, yet he did not raise a finger to defend his Chief. Nor did he intercept the retreat of the assailants.[1] So, on the basis of popular suspicion Bernier wrote, "A secret understanding, it was suspected, existed between Jaswantsingh and Shivaji, and the former was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Shaista Khan as well as attack of Surat."[2] The statement of Bernier has been repeated by Manucci. Bhimsen too reiterated these statements of the foreign travellers.[3] It is sometimes urged that Jaswantsingh was innocent and he had no hand in Shivaji's famous coup on Shaista Khan's mansion at Poona, for some of the important contemporary authorities like the *Alamgirnama*, *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* and *Kulsaut-Tawarikh* are silent on the point. But this is a negative argument. Bhimsen Burhanpuri, who was in the Deccan at the time, and who makes the allegation against the Maharaja cannot be dismissed so lightly when he is supported by contemporary European traveller Bernier.

So, Col. Tod is right when he says, "Scarcely had Jaswant reached the Deccan when he opened a communication with Shivaji, planned the death of the King's lieutenant, Shaista Khan.....".[4]

Shaista Khan left the Deccan for Bengal about the middle of January, 1664. The new Viceroy, Prince Muzzam, posted Maharaja Jaswantsingh at Poona and himself continued to live in Aurangabad. The Maharaja for two years exerted himself well and fought many severe and successive battles, yet the turbulance of the enemy did not decrease, but rather increased.[5] In an attempt to capture the fort of Kondana, Jaswantsingh quarrelled with his brother-in-law and fellow general Rao Bhao Singh, evidently on the question of responsibility for the failure of the siege.[6] At last,

1. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 271 ; Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, p. 91.
2. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, p. 91.
3. Bernier, p. 188.
4. Manucci, II, p. 104 ; Bhimsen, I, p. 45.
5. Tod, II, p. 983.
6. Ishwardas, f. 51 (a) ; Bhimsen, I, p. 47 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 31 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 271 ; Sarkar, IV, p. 52.
7. Bhimsen, I, p. 47 ; Sarkar, IV, pp. 58-59.

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owing to this state of things, Jaswantsingh was also recalled, and Mirza Raja Jai Singh was appointed as his successor in September, 1664.[1] Thereupon, the Maharaja returned to Delhi *via* Rampura and Karauli on April 25, 1665. Aurangzeb honoured him by awarding a *khilat* and a jewelled dagger.[2]

Under instructions from the Mughal Emperor Maharajkumar Prithvi Singh was summoned to Delhi in May, 1665. The Emperor awarded a mansab of 2000 Zat and Sawar rank to Prithvi Singh when he attended the Mughal Court in July, 1665. Again a robe of honour and horse were awarded to him (Prithvisingh) on the eve of his marriage.[3]

In the year 1077 A.H. (A.D. 1666-67) Jaswantsingh was deputed with Prince Muazzam at the head of 20,000 horsemen to fight Shah Abbas of Persia who intended to invade Hindustan. An Imperial army was despatched from Agra on September 4, 1666.[4] A couple of days before his departure Jaswantsingh requested that Mir Khan be also deputed with the royal army. Aurangzeb acceded to the Maharaja's request.[5] On the eve of his departure for Kabul Jaswantsingh was awarded a *Khasa khilat*, sword, Jewelled dagger, two special horses with golden trappings and an elephant.[6] On October 31, 1666 Aurangzeb sent a robe of honour for the Maharaja.[7] Aurangzeb, however, sent orders to Prince Muazzam on November 11, 1666 not to advance beyond Lahore and stay there for a few days. The proposed expedition to Kabul was not necessary then, because the Shah had already died on August 22,

1. Ishwardas, f. 52 (a); *Alamgirnama*, p. 878 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 232-34 ; *Maathir-ul-umara*, I, p. 755 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 31.
2. *Alamgirnama*, p. 884 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 235-36. According to *Aurangzebnama*, I, p. 63, by Munshi Deviprasad Jaswantsingh attended the Mughal Court at Delhi on 13 May 1665. Hence, Bernier's statement regarding Maharaja's return to his own country instead of visiting Delhi is not correct (see Bernier, p. 188).
3. *Alamgirnama*, p. 908 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 236-37.
4. *Alamgirnama*, p. 975 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 37 ; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 755 ; Sarkar, III, pp. 112-13.
5. *Jaipur Akhabarat*, p. 68, for 9th regnal year of Emperor's reign (Sitamau Collection).
6. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 975-76.
7. *Jaipur Akhabarat*, for 9th regnal year of Emperor's reign (Sitamau Collection), p. 231.

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1666. Yet Jaswantsingh was ordered to proceed to Peshawar.[1] But he was soon recalled along with Prince Muazzam in February, 1667. Both of them (Muazzam and Jaswantsingh) attended the Mughal Court at Agra on March 10, 1667.[2]

During Jaswantsingh's absence in Kabul, Aurangzeb got an opportunity of annexing the pargana of Jaju on November 22, 1666 and compensated the Maharaja by an annual cash payment in proportion to its income.[3]

Jaswantsingh wrote to Mohammad Amin Khan from Lahore, on October 29, 1666, that his *haveli* there had been washed away in floods. In view of heavy loss he requested the Emperor's favour for grant of 500 bighas of land near Salabas. The Emperor, thereupon, appointed Rai Lal Chand to submit a factual report in the matter after enquiry.[4]

Rani Chandrawat gave birth to a son on January 27, 1667 when the Maharaja was posted at Lahore. Aurangzeb wanted to name the new-born baby, and so he asked Md. Amin Khan to write to the Maharaja whether he agreed the Emperor's giving a name to the baby.[5]

Prince Muazzam and Jaswantsingh returned to Mughal court on March 10, 1667 and on March 23, 1667. Muazzam was appointed as Subahdar of the Deccan. Maharaja Jaswantsingh, Rai Singh, Saf Shikan and Sarbuland Khan were appointed under him.[6] On the eve of his departure Jaswantsingh was awarded *Khilat*, jewelled sword and two horses.[7]

1. *Jaipur Akhabarat*, p. 234 ; also see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 37.
   According to *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* order was issued on Jamadi-ul-Akhir 24, A. H. 1076 (22 December 1665) while according to the *Akhabarat* order was sent on 13 Jamad-ul-awwal, A.H. 1076 (11 November 1666). Hence, the date given in *Akhabarat* has been accepted. Moreover, the information of *Maathir-ul-Umara* that Jaswantsingh also returned to Court from Lahore has been corrected on the basis of the *Akhabarat*.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 239-40 ; *Aurangzebnama*, I, pp. 69.
3. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (Sitamau Collection) (9th year's reign), p. 273.
4. ibid., p. 283.
5. ibid.
6. *Alamgirnama*, p. 1037 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 239-40 ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 37.
7. Ishwardas, f. 60 (b).
   Jaswantsingh was appointed 'in the hope of again luring Shivaji into the Emperor's power' —Lane Poole, *Aurangzeb*, p. 166.

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While the Maharaja was in the Deccan his son Prithvi Singh died of small-pox on May 12, 1667.[1] Aurangzeb sent orders to Shahzada Md. Azam to pay a condolence visit to Maharaja in person on behalf of the Emperor.[2] The Emperor, on his part, sent condolence message to the Maharaja from Agra through Md. Amin Khan.[3] He also sent a robe of honour and a dagger for the Maharaja on June 10, 1667.[4]

Under orders from the Emperor, Jumad-ul-Mulk wrote to the Maharaja on August 30, 1667 that four parganas of Dudakuni near Tanapur were added to his Jagir.[5] A couple of days after this the pargana of Sanchor was also given to Jaswantsingh. Thus, the total income of his Jagir was enhanced by one crore per aunum by the addition of the parganas of Dudakuni and Sanchor. Jumad-ul-Mulk was directed to ask the Maharaja to depute his men to take over the administration of these parganas.[6]

From the two Akhabarats dated 12 Aabi-ul-akhir (September 21, 1667) and 24 Rabi-ul-akhir (October 3, 1667) of the year 1078 A.H. it appears that the parganas of Rohtak and Rewari were in the Jagir of Jaswantsingh. But the pargana of Rewari was subsequently made over to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. After the death of the Mirza Raja, Jaswantsingh requested for its restoration, but the Emperor refused to grant the request.[7]

While in the Deccan the Maharaja was ordered by Prince Muazzam to pursue Dilir Khan, a captain in the Mughal army. It appears as a result of intrigues of Dilir Khan who was jealous of the Maharaja because of his cordial relations with the Prince, Jaswantsingh was suspected of foul play in colloboration with Prince Muazzam.[8] Aurangzeb, therefore, transferred the Maharaja from the Deccan

1. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (for the 10th regnal year of Alamgir's reign), p. 101.
2. ibid., p. 107.
3. ibid., p. 257.
4. ibid., p. 258.
   The date of Prithvisingh's death as given in *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 240, is 5 May 1667 while according to *Akhabarat* he died on 12 May 1667. The date given in the *Akhabarat* seems to be correct.
5. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (for the 10th year), Pt. II (Sitamau Collection), p. 193.
6. ibid., p. 211.
7. ibid., p. 297, 344.
8. Bhimsen, I, p. 101.

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to Gujrat. He was appointed Subahdar of Gujrat[1] in place of Bahadur Khan who soon replaced Muazzam in the Deccan as Subahdar there. Thus, both of them were separated from each other by the wise Emperor.

According to *Jodhpur Khyat* the parganas of Thirad and Radhanpur were also given to Maharaja on the eve of his transfer from the Deccan to Gujrat.[2]

Jaswantsingh during his governorship of Gujrat (1670-71) removed Kamal Khan from Palanpur and the principality was entrusted to Fateh Khan for administrative purposes only.[3]

Thence, the Maharaja was sent to Jamrud in the fourteenth regnal year of the Emperor's reign. He left Gujrat on May 31, 1672 to take up his new appointment at Jamrud as *thanadar* of the Mughal military outpost there.[4] Aurangzeb awarded him a special robe and an *arsi* worth Rs. 7,000/-. At the time of the Emperor's departure from Rawalpindi Jaswantsingh was awarded a sword with jewelled *saz* and an elephant with *talair*.[5] Again during the 18th regnal year of the Emperor's reign a special robe of honour was sent to the Maharaja.[6]

Jaswantsingh's third appointment at Jamrud proved fatal for he died there in harness on Thursday, November 28 (O.S.) 1678 at about 2 A.M.[7]

1. Ishwardas, f. 60 (b) ; Bhimsen, I, p. 101 ; Nensi A, I, p. 276; *Vir Vinod*, p. 827; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, pp. 276-77.
   According to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (pp. 276-77), Jaswantsingh reached Ahmedabad in the month of Rabi-ul-akhir, 1081 A.H. (August, 1670). Parganas of Pitalad and Dhanduka were given to him in place of the parganas of Hissar and Chilka and the Maharaja was ordered to pay Rupees two lakhs per annum to the Imperial treasury.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 242.
3. *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 123.
4. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 68; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 755 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 296 ; Iswardas, f. 67 (a) ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 243 ; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 33; *Vir Vinod*, p. 827 ;
5. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 82.
6. ibid., p. 86.
7. *Pancholy*, f. 153 (b) ; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 30 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 256.
   There is a good deal of confusion regarding the date of Jaswantsingh's death. According to Tod he died in the year 1680 while the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* says that he died on 10 December 1678 (N. S.). The date of his death as given in *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* has been accepted by Sir Jadunath and

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Thus, ended the life of a warrior and general who by virtue of his qualities, service and devotion not only earned the title of one of the principal nobles of the Mughal Empire but under him Marwar also reached the zenith of prosperity and territorial expansion. The author of *Maathir-ul-Umara* confirms that "on account of his wealth and the number of followers he was at the head of the Rajas of Hindustan."[1] He ruled over a vast dominion. Not only the modern state of Marwar (i.e, Marwar before 1947) including the districts of Jodhpur, Merta, Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana, Phalodi, Pokaran, Jalor, Sanchor and Bhinmall were under his sway, but 22 parganas such as Badnor, Kekri, Narnaul, Rohtak, etc. were included in his kingdom.[2] Jodhpur during his 40 years' rule thus became one of the premier states in Hindustan. Jaswantsingh naturally came to be known as one of the two important Hindus who held the status of a Haft Hazari or 7,000 horses out of which 5,000 were Do Aspa and Sih Aspa.[3]

Jaswantsingh held for sometime the high post of a Mughal Subahdar of two provinces—Agra and Gujrat—during the successive reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He was one of those nobles of the Empire in whom Shah Jahan reposed full confidence. That is why he was always sent on one expedition or another in one capacity or the other. Hence, the major portion of his short but valorous life was spent outside his own country. Although he hardly won a conspicuous success in any of the battles fought by him, he curiously enough enjoyed some reputation as a general. The *Khyats* tell us that his arrangement of forces was very much appreciated by Prince Muazzam when both were in the Deccan.[4] Besides being a reputed general Jaswant-

other modern historians. According to chronicles of Marwar Jaswantsingh died of high fever in the garden of Puranmal Bundela on 28 November, 1678 (O. S.). The date is confirmed by *Raj Rupak* (see p. 17, v. 49). Hence, the date given in *Pancholy*, which is in perfect agreement with the *Khyats*, has been accepted. According to *Oxford History of India*, p. 438, the Maharaja was poisoned by the Emperor Alamgir. But Persian and Rajasthani sources are silent on the point. On the contrary, *Khyats* of Marwar specifically mention that Jaswantsingh died of high fever. Hence he died a natural death at Jamrud on 28 November 1678 (*Bankidass Khyat*, p. 30).

1. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 755; *Alamgirnama*, p. 32.
2. *Pancholy*, f. 61; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, pp. 198-99.
3. S.R. Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, p. 178.
4. *Ajit Charitra*, p. 44 ; Reu, I, p. 242, f. n. 1.

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singh was also a patron of learning and literature. He was himself a poet of no mean order. He possessed deep understanding of life and character of men.[1] Nensi, the Abul Fazl of Rajasthan, was picked up and patronised by him.

Jaswantsingh was a patron of Hindus and an upholder of Hindu religion.[2] When he came to know at Kabul that the Mughal Emperor had issued orders to all provincial governors and native officers 'prohibiting the practice of pagan religion throughout the country' and the Emperor further issued commands to close down all the temples and sanctuaries of idol-worshippers the Maharaja, according to a modern writer of Marwar, who appears to have based his information on earlier *Khyats* which are now extinct, impulsively declared that if temples were demolished by the Emperor in Hindustan he would bring to earth all the mosques of Kabul.[3]

"Aurangzeb tried to accomplish the impossible task of serving Mammon and God alike." He was a puritan by birth and therefore he tried his best to impose on the Hindus the Muslim way of life in certain matters. To achieve his goal he issued punitive regulations against the Hindus. But during the life-time of Jaisingh and Jaswantsingh the Puritan Emperor not only participated in the celebration of Dassera, an important Hindu festival, but he even awarded gifts on the occasion to the Rajput Rajas present at the Court. There was an occasion when robes for the Dassera were distributed to the distinguished Rajas through mace-bearers.[4] But after the death of Jaisingh (1666) and Jaswantsingh (1678) this practice was discontinued and a few months after the death of Maharaja Jaswantsingh the Jiziya was reimposed on non-muslims (April, 1679).[5] Further, during the same year orders were

1. See this author's article published in *Shodh Patrika*, Udaipur.
2. Maharaja Jaswantsingh has been praised as 'the sun of the Hindu race' by a contemporary newswriter (Wagia Nigar) of Agra, *vide* sheet No. 87 dated 2 Feb. 1692 (Diggi collection) quoted by Dr. K. R. Qanungo in his unpublished *History of the Baronical House of Diggi*, p. 58, f. n. 22.
3. Orme's Fragment, Notes, p. 85, Translated from French ; Asopa, p. 190. An Old Marwari couplet also corroborates the fact :

   जसवन्त जब लग जीवीयो, पड़ियो मह पासाण ।
4. *Alamgirnama*, pp. 868, 914. Also see S. R. Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, pp. 119-20.
5. S.R. Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, p. 151 ; *Oxford History*, p. 438.

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issued to demolish the temples of Jodhpur City. Idols from these temples were brought to Delhi and were placed in public places in the court and the Friday mosque.[1]

Ahkam-i-Alamgiri contains an order which Aurangzeb issued forbidding the employment of Rajputs either as faujdars or provincial governors.[2] In view of this order no Hindu was appointed to high post of a provincial governor after the death of Jaisingh and Jaswantsingh. On the contrary, after 1680, Aurangzeb began to force Hindus to embrace Islam. Dev Chand, a zamindar of Manoharpur, was dismissed from his *mansab* and was dispossessed of his principality. But when he embraced Islam on July 12, 1681 he was restored to the rank of a commander of 250 and was given back his estate.[3] On September 26, 1681, an order was issued that all prisoners who embraced Islam be set at liberty. Thus after the death of Jaswantsingh, Alamgir felt emancipated. His words which he is reported to have uttered when the news of Jaswantsingh's death reached him betrayed his innermost feelings towards the Maharaja.[4] But during his life-time he could not harm him. Thus, Maharaja Jaswantsingh was one of the two big Hindu Rajas who indirectly exercised a check on Aurangzeb's religious fanaticism.[5] During his life-time, 'sighs never ceased flowing from the Emperor's heart.'

Jaswantsingh's later days were a dismal contrast to the life he led earlier. Two of his sons, Maharajkumar Prithvisingh and Jagatsingh, died during his own life-time.[6] Hence, there was no male descendant to perform his last rites. Moreover, there were constant rebellions against his authority in his dominions. The Hada Rajputs

1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 175.
2. *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, f. 72 (a).
3. S. R. Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, p. 161.
4. Quoted by Reu from *Tarikh-i-Mohammedshahi* :

   दवजिह कुफ्र शिकस्त

   As early as 1659 Aurangzeb spoke of Jaswantsingh as "the infidel who has destroyed mosques and built idol temples on their sites". (*Adab*, f. 263 a).
5. The author of *Ajit Charitra* confirms it :

   भूमिर्न तावद् मम यावदेखा जागर्ति शत्रु जसवंतसिह (p. 45.)
6. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (Sitamau Collection), pt. I, p. 101. *Kaviraja Khyat*, ff. 11-12.

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headed by Durjansingh revolted time and again.[1] Towards the close of his life Jaswantsingh was appointed *thanadar* at Jamrud, while till 1671 he had earlier held big posts like those of Commander of Mughal forces and Subahdar of a province. Marwar lost one of its famous rulers in his death, who had raised the prestige and dignity of the State by sheer dint of merit. Hence, the role played by Jaswantsingh was undoubtedly conspicuous in the annals of Rajasthan.

1. *Waqaya-i-Sarkar Ranthambhor* (Sitamau Collection), pp. 44, 55-56 and 63.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Rathor War of Independence

MAHARAJA JASWANTSINGH I died at Jamrud on November 28, 1678. At the time of death two of his queens (Rani Jadamanje and Rani Naruki) were pregnant.[1] Jadamanje carried pregnancy of four months while the other had completed sixth month.[2] Therefore, the nobles of the late Maharaja headed by one Udaisingh did not allow them to commit *sati*.[3] On November 29, all the nobles present there assembled and decided to send the news of their Maharaja's death to his Vakil at Delhi to be conveyed to the Emperor. Messengers were also sent to Mir Khan and Rana Rajsingh of Mewar.[4] Shyam Das, the Maharaja's Vakil at Delhi, was asked to press the request

1. *Pancholy*, f. 153 (b); *Rajrupak*, p. 18, v. 51; *Ajitcharitra* quoted by Reu in his *Marwar ka Itihas*, I, p. 248; *Vir Vinod*, p. 828.
   According to *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* Jaswant's death occurred on Tuesday, 10 December 1678 (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 106).
2. *Pancholy*, f. 153 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 19; Copy of Ajit Singh's *Khyat* in the Rajasthan Archives Office, Bikaner, f. 18.
   Rajrupak is the only authority which says that Rani Jadamanje who subsequently gave birth to Jaswantsingh's successor, Ajitsingh, at Lahore, had completed her seventh month in November, 1678.
3. *Rajrupak*, p. 18, v. 18; *Vir Vinod*, p. 828; Asopa, p, 192.
4. *Pancholy*, f. 153 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 276.
   According to the chronicles of Marwar, the following Sardars were present at Jamrud : (1) Rathor Ranchordas, (2) Rathor Sangram Singh, (3) Chandrasen, (4) Udai Singh, (5) Pratap Singh, (6) Shyam Singh, (7) Vithal Das, (8) Mohkam Singh, (9) Rawal Hari Das, (10) Rathor Durgadas, Bharmal Chauhan, (11) Bhim, (12) Maha Singh Kachchwah, (13) Narain Das Rathor, (14) Juhar Singh, (15) Mukan Das Khichi, (16) Lakhman Gujar, etc.

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for the grant of Sojat and Jaitaran to descendants of Jaswantsingh.[1] Information of Maharaja's death was also sent to Jodhpur. The Sardars there were instructed not to pick up quarrel with the Imperial servants if and when they were sent by the Emperor to annex Jodhpur to the Mughal Empire.[2] News of the death of Maharaja reached Aurangzeb in the first week of December 1678.[3] While the Rathors were thus busy in winding up the affairs at Jamrud and were preparing themselves to return to their country a firman was received from the Emperor on December 31, 1678, permitting them to cross Atak. The Emperor renewed the Jagir of Sojat and Jaitaran for the descendants of the late Maharaja and conveyed his sanction to the nobles of Marwar then held up at Jamrud. But, the remaining parganas were annexed to the Empire and the Emperor informed the Sardars that the territory of Jodhpur thus annexed to the Empire would be returned to the sons of Jaswantsingh when they came of age.[4] But enforcement of this firman was kept in abeyance for some time as Pathan Mir Khan's younger brother reported that the Khan was in the mountain area of Jodhpur and if the Rathors were allowed to cross Atak they would, after their return to Marwar, create disturbances in their country.[5] Hence, the Rathors were detained at Jamrud for some time more. On the other hand, when news of the Maharaja's death reached Merta on December 15, 1678, Raghunath Pancholy and Kesri Singh left Merta for Jodhpur on 16th December.[6] Meanwhile, the Subahdar of Ajmer sent the information to the Sardars at Jodhpur that Jodhpur and the neighbouring country had been annexed to the Mughal Empire.[7] Thereupon, about 20,000 Rathors

1. *Pancholy*, f. 154 (a) ; *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, pp. 90-91.
2. *Pancholy*, f. 154 (a); Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 1; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 275; *Vir Vinod*, p. 828.
3. Ishwardas, f. 73 (b). According to *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* the news of Jaswant's death was conveyed to Aurangzeb on Shawwal 1, A.H. 1089 (6 November 1678). The date given in *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* is apparently incorrect (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar's translation, p. 106).
4. *Pancholy*, f. 161 (a). Manucci says that a Firman to allow the retinue of the late Maharaja was issued by the Emperor (see Manucci, II, p. 233).
5. *Pancholy*, f. 161 (a); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 276.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 276; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 1; *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, p. 74.
7. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 276; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 1.

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assembled round about the city of Jodhpur.[1] It appears all of them got inspiration in the initial stages from one of the widows of Maharaja Jaswantsingh who, according to a contemporary writer, was the Hadi Rani.[2] When Aurangzeb came to know of it he directed Sarbuland Khan to issue firmans to the ring-leaders of the Rathors promising them restoration of their Jagirs and asking them to serve the cause of the Empire faithfully.[3]

Aurangzeb soon took steps to annex Jodhpur permanently. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the historian of Aurangzeb, there were many reasons which prevailed upon him to seize the kingdom of his former grandeé who was one of the pillars of the mighty Mughal Empire. The reasons given by Sir Jadunath may be summarised below[4] :

(a) Jodhpur was then the foremost Hindu State of Northern India. So, Aurangzeb did not like it to be given to the successors of Jaswantsingh, because he apprehended that the successor would be the pillar of the Hindu's hopes all over the Empire and the centre of Hindu opposition to his policy of temple destruction and of the imposition of Jajiya.

(b) Aurangzeb wanted to take a safe though belated vengeance of the sins committed by the late Maharaja at Dharmat, Khajwa and Deorai.

(c) His policy of forcible conversion of Hindus also 'required that Jodhpur should sink into a quiescent dependency or a regular province of the Empire'.

Thus, by annexing Jodhpur to the Mughal Empire, Aurangzeb wanted to deprive the Hindus of possible strong head in their resistance to his policy of religious persecution. Therefore, under orders from the Emperor, Ikhtiyar Khan left Ajmer for Jodhpur

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 276; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 1; *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, p. 78.
2. See *Waqaya Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor*, pp. 77-78. Also see Manucci, II, p. 234. Hadi Rani, Jaswant De, was the daughter of Rao Chhatra Sal of Bundi. She later died at her parental home, Bundi (*Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 257).
3. *Pancholy*, f. 161 (b).
   Firmans were issued to Bhandari Raghunath. Rup Singh, Pancholy Kesari Singh, Miyan Farasat and the faujdar of Jalor with a view to win all of them over to the Mughal cause.
4. Sarkar, III, pp. 325-29.

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via Merta to take charge of the Fort of Jodhpur.[1] But it appears Ikhtiyar Khan could not achieve the desired success. Therefore, the Emperor subsequently appointed Tahir Khan as faujdar of Jodhpur (February 1679). Along with him Khidmatguzar Khan was appointed Qiladar, Shaikh Anwar became Amin and Abdul Rahim was appointed as Kotwal of the city of Jodhpur.[2] He also sent for high officials of the Empire like Vazir Asad Khan, Shaista Khan, and Shahzada Akbar from their respective provinces to reinforce forces at Ajmer.[3]

On the other hand, in Marwar, there was no question of offering resistance to the well-directed mighty forces of the Empire because, after the death of Jaswantsingh, Marwar was without a head. His (Maharaja's) clansmen had also been thrown into confusion and dismay. Moreover, the best troops of the land and the choicest commanders were then held up at Jamrud. Hence, the Rathors were not in a position to offer resistance to the forces of Aurangzeb. And yet he sent more troops under Khan Jahan Bahadur and Hasan Ali Khan with other Amirs (Feb. 7, 1679) to help take possession of Jodhpur.[4] One Md. Amin Khan was also appointed at that time to capture Jalor. Soon the fort of Jodhpur and the affects of the late Maharaja passed into the possession of the Mughals.[5] To proclaim Muslim supremacy the temples of the city of Jodhpur were demolished at that time.[6]

1. *Waqaya-i-Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor*, p. 79; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 36; *Ajitodaya*, canto 5, vv. 34-43.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 106 ; *Pancholy*, f. 161 (b) ; Deviprasad, *Aurangzebnama* II, p. 80 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 828 ; Reu, I, p. 249.
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 107 ; *Pancholy*, f. 166 (b) ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 1 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 277.
4. *Pancholy*, f. 166 (b) ; Ishwardas, f. 74 (a) : *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 107; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 277.
5. *Ajitodaya*, canto 5, vv. 44-54 ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 24-25, v. 5 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 277 ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 2.
   According to the *Khyats* the Rathors gave a thick fight to the besieging army of the Mughals at Guda near Ajmer. But soon the Rathors were overpowered. Thereupon, Jodhpur and neighbouring area passed into the hands of the Mughals.
6. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 108 ; Reu, I, p. 250.
   'Cartloads of idols were taken from Jodhpur to Delhi and flung down in the Cavalry Square of the Imperial Court and under the steps of Jama Masjid to be trodden on by the Muslims.' (See Sarkar, III, p. 338.)

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After the Mughals had established their sway over Jodhpur, the army of Jaswantsingh was allowed to leave Jamrud on January 14, 1679.[1] The Rathor contingent had hardly travelled 11 cos from Jamrud when they came to know that troops were sent to pursue them. However, undeterred by such news, they continued their onward march and reached Sarai of Khan Dauran on January 16, 1679. Atak was crossed on Sunday, January 19, 1679.[2] Then the Rathors marching slowly at the rate of 7 to 10 cos per day reached Lahore on February 15, 1679.[3] When they were encamped at Lahore, in the *haveli* of Jodhpur, Rani Jadamanje gave birth to Ajit Singh on Wednesday, February 19, 1679, at about 4 a.m. The same night Rani Naruki gave birth to another son who was named Dalthambhan. Here a messenger from Jodhpur informed the Sardars that when Sayyid Abdullah, an Imperial officer, came from Delhi to Merta, Ikhtiyar Khan took Rup Singh and Pancholy Kesari Singh with him to the said Sayyid.[4] They then entered into an agreement with Abdullah and handed over the fort of Jodhpur to him which they had recaptured from Ikhtiyar Khan.[5] By then Aurangzeb had also

1. *Pancholy*, f. 162 (b) ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, 283.
   According to the chronicles of Marwar Sangramsingh Rathor sought interview with Nawab Mir Khan through one Niwas Beg, and then successfully persuaded the Nawab to allow the Rathors to cross Atak.
2. According to Khafi Khan when the 'Commander of the boats at Atak refused to let the Rathors proceed, they attacked him, killed and wounded some of the men, and by force, made good their way over the river and went onwards to Delhi' (see Elliot, VII, p. 297). *Khyats* of Marwar and the *Pancholy* also mention that Rathors were refused permission to cross Atak. So, after paying Rs. 20,000/- to Mir Khan through Niwaz Khan, permission to cross the ferry was obtained (see *Pancholy*, f. 162 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 283).
3. *Pancholy*, f. 166 (a) ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II.
   Full details of the route from Jamrud to Lahore as given in *Pancholy* has been provided in Appendix No. V.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 19 ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 1; *Rajrupak*, p. 26, v. 11; Ishwardas, f. 73 (b) ; Also see *Vir Vinod*, p. 828.
5. Sayyid Abdullah was despatched from Delhi to acquire the treasures of Jaswantsingh (see *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, p. 87. Also see *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, v. 51). According to *Pancholy*, Nawab-Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur, whom the *Khyat* writers have mentioned as Bahadur Khan, gave in writing to Kesari Singh and Rup Singh that Jodhpur would be given back to the posthumous sons of Jaswant Singh and the two parganas of Sojat and Jaitaran were

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reached the environs of Ajmer (in middle of February 21, 1679) to supervise and direct these military operations personally.[1] Thus, by the time Ajit Singh was born Aurangzeb had successfully brought the whole of Jodhpur under his sway (by February 21, 1679).[2]

While the Emperor was still encamped at Ajmer he came to know on February 26, 1679 that two posthumous sons were born to the two Ranis of Maharaja Jaswantsingh at Lahore.[3] By that time he had made arrangements for the administration of the newly acquired territory of the former Marwar State by establishing outposts here and there.[4] Aurangzeb hoped that there would be no national resistance of the Rathors against the annexation of Jodhpur. Hence, he himself moved from Ajmer to Delhi and also sent a word to the sardar of Jaswantsingh then encamped at Lahore with the family of the late Maharaja that they should also proceed to Delhi.[5]

Therefore, the Rathors left Lahore on February 28, 1679 and reached Badli on April 4, 1679. The party remained encamped there, while Rathor Sangram Singh, Rathor Pratap Singh, Rathor Shyam Singh, Rathor Durga Das[6], Rathor Bharmal and Pancholy Raghunath went to call on Sarbuland Khan. After formal exchange of compliments the Nawab consoled them. Therefore, the family of late Maharaja was brought to Delhi and lodged in the *haveli* of

granted for the maintenance of the family of the late Maharaja, and then only the Rathors agreed to hand over Jodhpur to the Mughals peacefully (see *Pancholy*, f. 166 (a) ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 24-25, v. 5 and the various *Khyats*). This is confirmed by the writer of *Waqaya Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor* (see *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, pp. 90-91).

1. *Pancholy*, f. 166 (b) ; Ishwardas, f. 73 (b).
2. *Pancholy*, f. 166 (b).
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 107 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 279 ; Sarkar, III, pp. 327-28. According to *Khyats* of Marwar, Aurangzeb was then reported to have said

   बंदा की हुई चावै ने खुदा की हुई चावे ।

   Thus, according to these chronicles, Aurangzeb expressed his utter dissatisfaction when he came to know that two sons were born to Jaswantsingh posthumously at Lahore.
4. *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, v. 46, 51-53; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 4. Thanas were established at (i) Phalodi, (ii) Pokaran, (iii) Siwana and (iv) Sanchor (*Pancholy*, f. 171 b).
5. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 109 ; Bhimsen, I, p. 164 ; *Pancholy*, f. 169 (a).
6. The *Khyat* writers have spelt his name as 'Durag Das' while Tod, Elphinstone and the other later historians have mentioned his name as 'Durga Das'.

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Jaswantpura in the suburb of Shahjahanbad (April 7, 1679).[1] The Emperor agreed to grant an audience to the principal nobles of Maharaja Jaswantsingh. Rathor Suraj Mal, Rathor Banchordas and Durga Das went to see the Emperor in *ghusalkhana* on April 14, 1679.[2] There the Emperor is said to have told them that the sons of Jaswantsingh should be brought up in his harem and when they would come to age *mansab* and Raj would be granted to them.[3] Durga Das, Raghunath Bhatti and Ranchor Jodha mustered courage and submitted to the Emperor thus :

> "The Emperor is moved by anger and love of chastisement in demanding the children. Then God alone knows what he wishes to do with regard to (these) little ones."[4]

Aurangzeb also tried to win over the Rathor Sardars by offering them, through Sarbuland Khan, the parganas of Sojat and Jaitaran in Jagir.[5] Probably his earlier offer of these two parganas was insincere. However, Nawab Khan Jahan Bahadur threatened to resign.[6] The repeated requests of Jaswant's widow, the celebrated Hadi Rani, for the restoration of Jodhpur to her step-sons had no effect.[7] Aurangzeb was determined to wreck vengeance on the sons of Jaswantsingh by annexing Jodhpur.

But Aurangzeb found it quite difficult as well as impossible to keep Jodhpur then under his immediate control. Ishwardas tells us that after the 'death of late Maharaja the Rajputs of Marwar got ready in every house for disturbance and mischief'. Therefore, Aurangzeb placed Indra Singh, the grandson of Jaswantsingh's elder brother,

1. *Pancholy*, f. 172 (b) ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, vv. 56-57 ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 20 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 27, v. 15 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 22.
2. *Pancholy*, f. 173 (b) ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 20 ; Ishwardas, f. 75 (a). According to *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* four Sardars, namely Sonag, Durga Das, Raghunath Bhatti and Ranchor Jodha, went to beg from the Emperor *mansab* and the kingdom of Jodhpur for the sons of Jaswantsingh (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 109).
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 109 ; Ishwardas, f. 75 (a) : *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 45. According to Bhimsen, the throne of Jodhpur was also offered to Ajit Singh by Aurangzeb on the condition of his turning a Muslim. But this seems to have occurred a little later, not at this time (see Bhimsen, I, p. 164).
4. Quoted from Ishwardas, f. 75 (b).
5. *Pancholy*, f. 174 (a); *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 23.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 23-24 ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 21.
7. *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, p. 217.

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Rao Amar Singh, as chief of Marwar.[1] Thus, by conferring throne of Jodhpur on one of the descendants of late Maharaja Gaj Singh for thirty six lakhs of rupees, Aurangzeb hoped to keep Marwar under his domination.[2] But Aurangzeb's hopes were belied. Indra Singh failed to put down the disturbance by subduing the Rathors who were in rebellion throughout the country.

Aurangzeb also harassed the Sardars of the late Maharaja Jaswantsingh by ordering them to submit accounts of the late Maharaja to Qasam Khan, thereby hoping to make them submit to his wishes. But here also his stratagem did not succeed. Kesari Singh sacrificed himself for the sake of the dead Maharaja's honour and prestige. He was immediately arrested and he died the death of a martyr in the Imperial prison.[3] It was submitted to the Emperor that as the children were very young they could not be separated from their mothers, but on attaining their youth they would wait on the Emperor.[4] Aurangzeb naturally felt offended and therefore he took prompt measures to capture Ajit Singh. It seems that at the first stage Ajit Singh and the family were only under nominal watch of the Imperial guard. Deeming it inadequate, on July 15, 1679, Aurangzeb ordered for strict measures for keeping them as Royal prisoners. Thus the seed of the Rajput war of Independence was sown in July, 1679. The Rathors fought for full thirty years for the liberation of their homeland.

When the Rajput Chiefs read the mind of Aurangzeb who was bent upon taking revenge of the sins of deceased Jaswantsingh by not handing over the throne of Marwar to the rightful heir, they decided among themselves (April 14, to July 15, 1679) the plan of action for taking away from Delhi to a safe place their young Maharaja. In order to keep Aurangzeb in darkness about their possible plans, at intervals, one by one, theR athor Sardars began to take leave of the Emperor to return to Jodhpur. Those who slipped away from Delhi served the cause of their homeland by poisoning the commonmen against the Mughal Emperor.

1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 109; Ishwardas, f. 74 (b); Bhimsen, I, p. 165 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 29, v. 26 ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 9, vv. 1-7; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 828-29.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 17 ; *Aurangzebnama*, II, p. 83 ; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 828-29. *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, pp. 61-63; *Rajrupak*, pp. 28-29, vv. 22-23. Ishwardas, f. 75 (b).

When all other stratagems had failed Aurangzeb appointed Hamid Khan and Faulad Khan along with other commanders of the Imperial guard to remove the Rathors forcibly from the *haveli* of Rup Singh Rathor to Nurgarh.[1] At this time he came to know that one of Jaswant's sons, Dalthambhan, had breathed his last[2], and the Rathors wished to flee to Jodhpur with the surviving son of the Maharaja.[3] So, he ordered Faulad Khan, Kotwal, Hamid Khan, Kamal-ud-din Khan and the troops belonging to the late Prince Muhammad Sultan 'to make these wicked men abstain from their criminal plan' (July 15, 1679).[4]

On the other hand, the Sardars of Marwar decided to save the life of the little Ajit at any cost. Raghunath Bhatti and Ranchor Jodha decided that Durga Das should start with the family of the Maharaja to Marwar, while both of them remained behind to fight and thereby detain the Mughal forces for at least three hours to give a start to Durga Das to escape safely.[5]

The Imperial troops soon surrounded the mansion of Raja Rup Singh Rathor where the family of the late Maharaja was besieged. Exchange of musket fire from both sides began with full force. When the Rajputs were hard-pressed Raghunath Bhatti compelled Durga Das to remove Ajit Singh from there as per plan. He said : "The Imperial troops are numerous and we are few. If we engage repelling one, another comes to his aid. Hence, it is expedient that you should set out for Marwar with the Maharaja's family, while we confront this army."[6] Under these circumstances, Ajit Singh was secretly sent out of the *haveli* with the wife of Thakur Mohkam Singh of Balunda and Mukand Das Khichi was appointed his guard.[7] According to the writer of *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor*, two maid-servants of Jaswantsingh disguised as milk-maids took away the Rajkumar from the *haveli* of Rup Singh Rathor. Mohkam Singh's wife and Mukand Das Khichi soon joined them.[8] Disguised

1. Ishwardas, f. 75 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 45; *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, v. 66.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 109; Reu, I, p. 254.
3. ibid.
4. ibid., p. 10.
5. Ishwardas, f. 72 (b).
6. Ishwardas, f. 76 (a) ; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 34.
7. *Ajitodaya*, canto 6; vv. 91-93; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 1486-87.
8. *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, vv. 91-93; *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, pp. 552-54.

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as a snake-charmer Khichi Mukand Das accompanied the scion of Jaswantsingh from Delhi to Marwar. Raghunath Bhatti resisted the Imperial troops for four *gharis*, and was at last slain with his men.[1] The party was overtaken by the pursuers led by Hamid Khan after 4 or 5 kos. Thereupon Ranchor Jodha detached himself with his 100 Rajputs and opposed the pursuing army till he was slain with his men.[2] The Rathors had hardly covered a distance of 2 or 3 kos when they were again overtaken by the Mughals. Now came the turn of Durga Das to oppose the assailants. When the Rajputs found themselves hard-pressed by the Imperialists, they slew the two Ranis, who had been brought so far in male attire, and then fled away with Ajit Singh. Durga Das himself opposed the Imperial troops for two or three *gharis* till he received severe wounds.[3] In the veil of darkness the Khans returned to Delhi while Durga Das slipped away with his seven troopers and soon rejoined his Prince whom they safely escorted to Marwar (July 23, 1679).[4] Thus, the faithful Rathors, at the cost of their lives[5], succeeded in carrying away the scion of their lord from Delhi to Marwar. The heroic resistance offered to the Mughals by the self-sacrificing Rathors earned a name in the annals of Rajasthan.

After the flight of the Rathors the slave girls of the late Maharaja were taken into custody by the Imperialists and all property of Jaswantsingh was also confiscated and deposited in *bait-ul-mal*. When the Mughals failed to capture Ajit Singh, Faulad Khan, the Kotwal, took to the Emperor a milk-maid's son whom Aurangzeb entrusted to the care of Zeb-un-nisa Begam and named him Muhammadi Raj. In order to hide his insult, Aurangzeb recognised this counterfeit boy

1. Ishwardas, f. 76 (a); *Ajitodaya*, canto 6, vv. 91-93; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 46; Ajitsingh's *Khyat*, f. 34.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 110; *Rajrupak*, p. 33, vv. 44-45; *Ajitodaya*, canto 7, vv. 19-20; Ajitsingh's *Khyat*, f. 35; *Vir Vinod*, p. 829.
   Khafi Khan, who appears to be himself not very sure of the manner in which Ajit Singh escaped, says that 'the Ranis disguised as men, made their way with all speed to their own Country'. (see Elliot, VII, p. 297.)
3. Ishwardas, f. 76 (a); *Ajitgranth*, v. 230; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 56.
   According to Khafi Khan the Rathors were pursuaded by the Imperial forces for 20 kos from Delhi (see Elliot, VII, p. 298).
4. Ishwardas, f. 76 (b); Bhimsen, I, p. 164; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 110; *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, pp. 244-45.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 46; *Rajrupak*, p. 8; *Vir Vinod*, p. 829.

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as the scion of Maharaja Jaswantsingh and hereafter he refused to accept the existence of Ajit Singh, the real son and successor of Maharaja Jaswantsingh.[1]

While Aurangzeb was rejoicing over his false victory of having taken in his own possession Muhammadi Raj, Ajit Singh was being carried from place to place by his faithful followers (in Marwar) in search of a safe place. For some time, the boy Prince was kept in concealment at Balunda under the care of Mohkam Singh's wife.[2] But as Balunda being surrounded by Jaitaran, Sojat, Siwana and Merta, which were then under the Mughals, the boy prince was taken from there to Kalindari in Sirohi where he was entrusted to the care of Jaideo, a Pushkarana Brahmin.[3] But the Rao of Sirohi prevailed upon the Rathors to remove Ajit Singh to some other place from the said village. So, he was taken to Nandolai, a village 3 miles North-West of Desuri in the territory of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar.[4] Thus, Ajit Singh was lodged in concealment in the mountains of Aravali and Rana Raj Singh was persuaded by Durga Das to offer him a Jagir of Kelwa.[5]

The flight of Ajit Singh from the Imperial Capital opens a new chapter in the History of Marwar. When Aurangzeb came to know that Durgadas and party baffled his generals by secretly removing Ajit Singh from Delhi, he sent orders to Tahir Khan and Indra Singh, the new Raja of Marwar, to chase the Rathors. The Mughal Emperor wanted that the fugitive should be brought back to Delhi. But both of them failed to fulfil his wishes. So, first Tahir Khan was dismissed and degraded and then Indra Singh, 'the two month's Raja of Marwar', was dethroned for his manifest incapacity to put down the disturbances.[6]

1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 110; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 298; *Vir Vinod*, p. 830; Ojha, II, p. 486.
2. *Ajitodaya*, canto 7, v. 1; *Waqaya Ranthambhor*, p. 256.
   Balunda is between Sojat and Jaitaran.
3. *Ajitodaya*, canto 7, vv. 4-7; *Ajitgranth*, v. 331; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 44; *Vir Vinod*, p. 830.
4. Ishwardas, f. 77 (a).
5. *Raj Vilas*, f. 136 (b), canto 7, vv. 200-206; *Vir Vinod*, p. 830.
6. Indersingh was given Jodhpur (by Aurangzeb) in May, 1679 and he was dethroned in September, 1679 (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 110; Bhimsen, I, p. 165). The writer of *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor* informs us that the news of Indrasingh's appointment as Raja of Jodhpur caused indignation among the Rathors (see p. 245).

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With the return of Ajit Singh to Marwar the Rathors began to rally round him from all parts of their country. The spirit of national resistance was still not dead. They had decided to perform the installation ceremony of Ajit Singh, whereby they enthroned him as the Maharaja of Marwar on August 2, 1679.[1] Therefore, the Emperor, on receipt of information, despatched a strong force under his Pay Master Sarbuland Khan to capture the Maharaja's famiiy and also 'to wrest Jodhpur from the Rathors'.[2] By the time this force reached Marwar, Sonag and Bhatti Ram had already dislodged Tahir Beg and Tahawar Khan from the fort of Jodhpur.[3] At the same time Sujan Singh captured the fort of Siwana from the Mughals.[4] Similarly, Mertia Raj Singh gave a very close fight to the imperialists on August 19, 1679 and in an attempt to wrest Merta from the Mughals died a heroic death.[5] News of these disturbances naturally caused anxiety in the mind of Aurangzeb who, out of his religious bigotry, wanted to annex Jodhpur permanently. 'His policy in Marwar seemed to have been wrecked.' Therefore, the Emperor himself proceeded to Ajmer in September, 1679 and reached there within 22 days (September 25, 1679).[6] He sent Prince Mohammad Akbar, his third son, in advance.

Soon after his arrival at Ajmer, Aurangzeb appointed his son Prince Akbar with Padshahquli Khan, Shams Khan, Mamur Khan, Md. Naim Khan, and other Imperial Officers to chastise the Rathors who were then reported to be encamped at Nandolai.[7] Thus, now

1. *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor*, p. 332.
2. Ishwardas, f. 76 (b); *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 110.
3. *Ajitodaya*, canto 8, vv. 30-32; Ajit Singh's *Khyat*, f. 38; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 52.
4. Ajitsingh's *Khyat*, f. 38; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 52-53.
5. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 111; *Rajrupak*, pp. 43-45, vv. 7-20; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 55; *Ajitodaya*, canto 8, vv. 35-70.
   This was the last pitched battle. Thereafter, the Rathors always carried on guerilla warfare from their lurking places in the hills and desert.
6. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 111; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 66.
   The Persian authorities are silent on the rallying of Rathor power against the Imperial authority in different parts of Marwar. However, *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor* gives information about various disturbances in Marwar at that time. (See *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor*, pp. 78, 246, 256, 332, 605.)
7. Ishwardas, f. 77 [a].

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the Mughal Emperor adopted direct action in his military operations against Marwar.

He divided Marwar into districts over each of which a Mughal Faujdar was appointed. As such Indra Singh was also appointed *thanabdar* of Nimaj on October 26, 1679. Raghunathsingh was posted at Siwana. Thus, by November 1679, the State of Marwar was placed under the direct administration of the Crown.[1]

Though the Mughal Emperor had conquered Marwar, he was neither able to subdue the Rathors nor to trace out Ajit Singh. Hence, his victory was only a partial victory. On the other hand the burning of infants, ladies, cornfields and the demolition of temples roused popular indignation against his authority in Marwar. Under these circumstances, the Rathors decided to die rather than suffer humiliation of surrender. Secretly public hatred was aroused against the Mughals. To subdue popular upsprings Aurangzeb appointed Hamid Khan to punish the rebels of Sojat and Jaitaran.[2]

When the Rathors found themselves incapable of sustained effort against the mighty Mughal Emperor, they held a counsel (Sept.—Oct., 1679) and decided to seek the help of the neighbouring state of Mewar. Hence Rathor Gopinath and Sadpal were sent to Rana Raj Singh with a letter from Rathor Durgadas seeking Mewar's immediate help.[3]

Rana Raj Singh of Mewar, by rendering help to Ajit Singh, not only saved him from falling into the hands of his enemy, Aurangzeb, but his action proves the fact that in adversity the two indomitable rival houses could be united in the common interest against a common foe. That is why Raj Singh who is said to have been on good terms with Aurangzeb, on the eve of War of Succession in 1657[4], was estranged from him because of the Emperor's policy of annexation towards the Rajput States.

Before despatching armies to ravage the Rana's country from three different directions Aurangzeb wrote as many as three letters in quick succession to his former friend alleging the breach of faith on the

1. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 112.
2. ibid., p. 119.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 56; *Raj Vilas*, f. 130-34 (b); Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 168.
4. Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 157.

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part of the Rana in giving shelter to his avowed enemies, Rathors.[1] But the Rana could not be dissuaded. Just then the Imperial army headed by Prince Akbar, Tahawwur Khan *alias* Padshah-quli Khan encamped at the foot of the Desuri pass. No sooner did Tahawwur Khan cross the *ghati* he came to know that the Sisodiyas joined the Rathors and, under Rathor escort, Ajit Singh had already been carried away from Desuri to Kelwa. Hence, three armies under the leadership of Tahawwur Khan, Hasan Ali Khan and *Shahzadas* Muazzam and Azam were ordered to march against Mewar.[2] To meet the crisis Rana Raj Singh despatched the royal families of Mewar and Marwar to the distant village of Menwara.[3] The joint forces of Mewar and Marwar[4] failed to offer resistance for long to the invaders and so after the battle of Debari (January 4, 1680) the whole of central Mewar was laid waste. Thus, after laying waste Udaipur city, Capital of Mewar, and the surrounding areas Aurangzeb returned back to Ajmer in March 1680.[5]

While the Mughal Emperor was busy with his major forces in the military operations against Mewar the Rathors headed by Durga Das and Sonag created disturbances in Jalor, Sojat, Siwana and Jaitaran.[6] It appears from contemporary official reports of the Mughal Empire that public opposition was at its zenith in various parts of Marwar when Aurangzeb was busy in suppressing the combined opposition of the Rathors and Sisodiyas in Mewar. Durgadas Rathor along with other prominent Sardars of the late Maharaja was fanning the tide of opposition against the Mughals in the form of popular upsprings against the Mughal authority. Therefore, the Emperor, immediately after his return to Ajmer, issued a firman to Mukram Khan on April 7, 1680 to proceed towards Jalor *via* Sojat and Jaitaran to subdue

1. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (23rd regnal year), I, p. 37; Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 298-300; *Raj Vilas*, canto 10, f. 137-40, vv. 1-22.
2. Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 169.
3. *Rawal Ranaji ki Vaat*, f. 111 (b); *Vir Vinod*, p. 465. Nenwara is situated amidst the hills of Bhomat.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 56; Dr. G.N. Sharma, pp. 170-72. According to Khafi Khan (VII, p. 299), 25,000 Rathors joined the forces of Mewar.
5. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 117; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Chagtai*, II, f. 122 (a) and 123 (a).
6. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (23rd regnal year), Sitamau Collection, III, p. 129. Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 57.

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the rebellious Rathors.[1] Raja Indra Singh was also trying hard to subdue the rebels in the parganas of Sojat and Jaitaran where 4,000 Rathors had assembled near the village Karora (?) to challenge the Imperial authority.[2] At the same time information was received that Durga Das was in Kohyat (?).[3] Thereupon, Aurangzeb sent another contingent under Hamid Khan to chastise the rebels of Sojat and Jaitaran. Indra Singh also submitted his petition through Aqil Khan on June 3, 1680, informing the Emperor that the Rathors were extracting money from the *Sahukars* of the villages they located. To regain Jodhpur from Aurangzeb Indra Singh chased Rathors from one place to another thereby he wanted to gain the Royal favour. So, when Durga Das and his party moved in the direction of Bilara he also followed them. But in the battle of Khetasar (May-June, 1680) his forces were routed by the rebellious Rathors.[4] Thereupon, Indra Singh tried in vain to win over Durga Das and others through Thakur Udai Chapawat of Pali.[5] During this period Durga Das once tried to invade Jodhpur itself from Cherari. But on receipt of information of a threatened siege of Jodhpur, Aurangzeb despatched a strong force under Nawab Mukarram Khan.[6] Then uprisings broke out simultaneously in Didwana and Sambhar.[7] Thus, 'all parts of Marwar, Jalor and Siwana in south, Didwana in the north and Sambhar in the north-east, were invaded by Ajit's partisans. The Rathor bands spread over the country and they appeared unexpectedly in different quarters and after having secured a success over a weak

1. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (23rd regnal year), Sitamau Collection, III, pp. 129 and 139. Also see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 117; *Rajrupak*, pp. 55-58, vv. 15-23; *Ajitodaya* canto 9, 17; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 57.
2. *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer & Ranthambhor*, p. 438. Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 57.
3. *Jaipur Akhabarat* (23rd regnal year), Sitamau Collection, IV, pp. 89-90; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 57; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 486-87.
4. *Ajitodaya*, canto 9, vv. 28-47; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 58-59; *Rajrupak*, pp. 58-60, vv. 21-39.
   According to *Rajrupak* (p. 61, verse 39) battle was fought on 13 June, 1680.
5. Ajitsingh's *Khyat*, f. 9; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 470-74. Also see Reu, I, p. 263, f. n. 5.
6. *Ajitodaya*, canto 10, vv. 1-19; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 481-85.
7. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 121; *Ajitodaya*, canto 10, vv. 51-52.

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Mughal outpost kept the land in perpetual turmoil. Even the trade routes were closed by them.'[1]

Under orders from the Emperor himself Prince Akbar left Chitor for Marwar on June 26, 1680, and encamped at Sojat on July 16, 1680. He made Sojat his base of operation in Marwar.[2] After making full arrangements for patrolling of the roads and supply of provisions he established a chain of outposts from Jodhpur to Sojat and thence to Nadol.[3] Thereafter the Prince left Sojat for Nadol on September 21, 1681. After the battle of Nadol (October 11, 1680) in which Rajputs suffered heavy losses, terms of peace were proposed.[4] Earlier than that Rana Raj Singh and Durga Das had also opened negotiations with Aurangzeb's another son, Muazzam. Then their plan could not succeed because of the unexpected interference of his mother (Nawab Bai) who wanted her son not to allow any of the Vakil of the Rajputs to see him in connection with peace talks.[5] However peace could not be concluded because of the death of Rana Rajsingh on October 22, 1680.

Prince Akbar was to penetrate into Mewad by the Desuri Pass. Therefore, he left Nadol on November 19, 1680 and soon captured Jailwara on November 22, 1680. But the repeated retaliation (on the part of the Rajputs) and the physical condition of the Kumbhalgarh district checked the further progress of the Mughals beyond Desuri and Jilwada.[6] This was sufficient cause for the Emperor's displeasure. Akbar had failed to subdue Rajputs not only in Mewad but Marwar as well. The Prince who was then smarting under disgrace also stopped writing to his father and dejected and depressed he lent ears to the emissaries of the Rajputs who had been tempting him to rebel against his father through Tahawwur Khan, his second in command.[7]

1. Sarkar, III, p. 347.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 119; *Ajitodaya*, canto 10, vv. 26-27; *Ajit Granth*, v. 499; Ojha, II, p. 491.
3. Sarkar, III, p. 348.
4. Ishwardas, f. 77 (a) & 78 (b); *Rajrupak*, pp. 62-90, vv. 1-114.
5. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 300.
6. Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 176.
7. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 122-23; G.N. Sharma, p. 176.

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After the defeat of the Rajputs at Nadol[1] followed by the death of Rana Raj Singh, Durga Das and his fellow sardars had wisely realised that it was neither possible nor desirable to continue open warfare with the mighty Mughals. Henceforth, guerilla warfare by the Rathors intended to harm the Mughals. Durga Das and Sonag looted six villages of Sojat pargana and three villages of Jaitaran pargana, and proceeded in the direction of Merta via Ajmer in October, 1680. The moneylenders (Bohras) of Sojat purchased their life and security by paying them Rs. 4,000. After having realised this heavy amount, both of them soon returned to Godwad.[2] At the same time messengers were sent by them to Tahawwur Khan through Haji Fateh Ali and Murtaza Khan.[3] Durga Das conveyed his desire to Tahawwur Khan *alias* Padshah Quli Khan through one Ratan Bhatti if the pargana of Godwad was granted to Ajit Singh in Jagir, the Rathors would withdraw all opposition.[4] Thus, it is quite clear that Durga Das was by then tired of plundering activities and therefore he desired to end the hostilities provided the Emperor agreed to give them financial relief by granting *jagir* to their boy prince. On the other hand, Aurangzeb, who wanted complete submission of the Rathors, did not agree to their proposal. The Emperor, however, with a view to divide the strength of the Rathors granted the pargana of Baran on September 11, 1680 to Jaswantsingh's widow, the well-known Hadi Rani[5], who was sister of Rao Bhao Singh Hada of Bundi. But when a similar request for Ajit Singh was made by the Rathors through Tahawwur Khan, he turned down their request probably because he disapproved of their nefarious activities.

Now the Rathors successfully persuaded Prince Akbar through Tahawwur Khan to raise his head in rebellion against Aurangzeb. The Rathors promised all help to him. 'Tahawwur Khan was negotiating with the Rajputs in order to be free from the hard-pressed condition that Akbar and his army had experienced in the pass of Desuri as the Rajputs had blocked their passage and supply of provisions.' With

1. Ishwardas, f. 78 (b); *Rajrupak*, pp. 9-10; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 585. According to *Rajrupak* the battle of Nadol was fought on 7 dark half of Ashvin, v.s. 1737 (5 September, 1680).
2. *Waqaya Ranthambhor & Ajmer*, p. 605.
3. ibid., pp. 552-54.
4. ibid., p. 545.
5. *Akhabarat* (23rd regnal year), pt. v, pp. 239-40 (Sitamau Collection).

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his sympathies they won over Akbar. The Rajputs informed the Prince that, 'his father's bigoted attempt to root out the Rajputs was threatening the stability of the Mughal Empire, and urged him to seize the throne and restore the wise policy of his forefathers if he wished to save his heritage from destruction.'[1] After protracted negotiations Akbar decided to capture the throne of Hindustan with the help of Rajputs and finally proclaimed himself as Emperor at Nadol on January 3, 1681.[2] The news of this coronation reached Aurangzeb as late as January 14 [3], because the Rajputs had created such a strong cordon that the Emperor could not get the news earlier.[4] Thus, by alienating Akbar from Aurangzeb, Durga Das and Jaisingh, the Rana of Mewad, played the part of superb diplomats. Both of them created a rift in the Mughal house to lessen the intensity of Aurangzeb's campaign in Mewad and Marwar. But, Aurangzeb, who was pastmaster in the art of stratagem, foiled all attempts of the Rajputs by writing forged letters to Akbar and getting them delivered to Durga Das and other Rajput leaders. The allies of Prince Akbar developed suspicion and they could not but doubt the *bona fide* intentions of the Prince. Thus deceived by the clever Emperor, the Rajputs abandoned Akbar at the eleventh hour (January 25, 1681.)[5] Akbar's cause was lost once for all.

By having pursuaded Akbar to proclaim himself Emperor of Hindustan, Durga Das snatched from him the title of 'Maharaja' and the principality of Jodhpur for Ajit Singh. Akbar also conferred upon him (Ajit Singh) the *mansab* of 7,000 Zat and 7,000 Sawar.[6] Thus, the claim of Ajit Singh as the real son and successor of Jaswant

1. Ishwardas, f. 80 (b), 81 (a); *Rajrupak*, p. 10; *Ajitodaya*, canto 11, vv, 4-6; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 62; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 174.
   According to the chronicles of Marwar, Prince Akbar tried to win over the Rathors. But this does not appear to be correct.
2. *Ajit Granth*, v. 537; *Rajrupak*, pp. 10-11; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 62; *PIHC*, 1938, pp. 355-60.

   नाघ वद मांस नांडूल महि, जुगन वमी तिय जाणियो
   वाप था मुरड टी के वयठ, मड दिल्ली कजू ताड़ियो

3. *Akhabarat*, 24th regnal year, part I, pp. 244-45.
   According to *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 122) Aurangzeb received the news of Akbar's rebellion on January 7, 1681. But date given in *Akhabarats* has been accepted.
4. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 302.
5. See letters of Aurangzeb to Akbar published in *PIHC*, 1938, pp. 355-60. Also see *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign* by Sarkar, pp. 91-92; *Rajrupak*, p. 11; *Ajit Granth*, v. 554.
6. *Akhabarat*, 24th regnal year, part I, pp. 10-11.

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Singh was given recognition at a time when Aurangzeb openly expressed doubts about his parentage and the counterfeit boy Muhammadi Raj was recognised as the real son and successor of Jaswant Singh by the Mughal Emperor.[1]

Prince Akbar with 25,000 Rajput horsemen came from the *ghata* of Desuri and reached Kurki, a village in the neighbourhood of Jaitaran. Aurangzeb started from Ajmer and halted at a village, Doraha.[2]

Akbar got up in the morning of January 26, 1681, only to know that the Rajputs had already deserted him three hours before the dawn.[3] Therefore, to save his life and liberty he also abandoned the field and went towards Jodhpur with his 350 troopers.[4] He, however, soon re-joined the Rathors at a place then known as Ramgarh[5], which was hardly at a distance of 20 miles from Jaitaran. When Aurangzeb heard of the desertion of the Rajputs followed by the flight of Akbar he simply rejoiced over his success in tactfully handling the situation. He appointed a force under his second son Prince Muazzam to pursue the rebel Prince.[6] Hotly pursued by the Imperialists Durga Das escorted Akbar safely up to Jalor *via* Jhilwara

1. Even on April 9, 1681, Aurangzeb recognised Muhammadi Raj as the real son of late Maharaja Jaswant Singh (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 127).
2. Ishwardas, f. 81 (b); *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 123-24.
   Kurki is 24 miles S.-W. of Ajmer and nine miles N.-W. of Pisangan. Doraha is 4 miles N.E. of Kurki. Thus, the distance between the two armies was only 3 miles (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 125).
   Before the decisive day Aurangzeb was successful in depriving Akbar of his right-hand man, Tahawwurkhan, through the influence of his father-in-law, Inayatkhan (see *Ajit Granth*, vv. 554-78; Ishwardas, f. 82; Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 302-4; also see G.N. Sharma, p. 178).
3. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 125; Ishwardas, f. 83 (a); *Rajrupak*, p. 11; *Ajitodaya*, canto 11, vv. 12-16.
   According to Khafi Khan, the Rajputs had abandoned Akbar but Durga Das with his two or three trusted sardars, of the Rana, remained with him. But this is not correct (see Elliot, VII, p. 304).
4. Ishwardas, f. 83 (a); Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 178.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 67.
   "After 26 hours the Rajput forces including Durga Das which had left the field in a strong conviction of Prince Akbar's betrayal, came back to rejoin the Prince....." — Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 179.
   Khafi Khan, VII, p. 304; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 125; Ishwardas, f. 83 (b); *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 63.

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Pass.[1] Thence, the Prince was taken to Sanchor.[2] While they were encamped at Kot Koller, a village near Sanchor, Muazzam proposed peace according to the terms of which Jodhpur was promised to Ajit Singh and the province of Gujrat was promised to Akbar.[3] But Durga Das sensed treachery in this offer of peace. So, with 500 Rathors he took the Prince to Sirohi, Palanpur and Therad. Thence he was taken to Udaipur.[4] Thus, the rebel Prince was safely conducted to Mewad.[5] But at that time Rana Jai Singh was pondering over peace negotiations with Aurangzeb. Therefore, the Rana did not give expected help to the fugitive Prince. Thereupon, Durga Das and Akbar issued forth from Mewad and reached Dungarpur *via* Jhadole, Chhappan and Salumber and then passing through Banswara, crossed Nerbada and passing through Khandesh took him to Shambhuji's court in Konkan (June 11, 1681), 'changing routes and avoiding imperial outposts and officer's in the way.'[6]

Durga Das's object in escorting Prince Akbar from Marwar to Shambhuji's court has not been mentioned by contemporary authorities. But it may be inferred that by taking Akbar from Marwar to the

1. *Akhabara* dated 30 safar, 24th year, part I, p. 431; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 126; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 63.

2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 126; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 63; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 599-607. According to Ishwardas, f. 83 (b), Akbar proceeded in the direction of Jodhpur while according to Khafi Khan the route of the escape to Deccan was *via* Lahore and Multan.

   The statements do not appear to be convincing. Jodhpur was then under the control of the Mughal Emperor. Why should the Prince have been taken to Jodhpur ? Akbar's presence in Mewad during his flight has been established by Dr. G.N. Sharma (see p. 179). Moreover, Akbar's flight to Jalor and Sanchor is mentioned in the official chronicles of Aurangzeb's reign (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 126). Hence, it is futile to think that Akbar, in flight, could have taken the longer route *via* Lahore and Multan.

3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 63.

   Ajitodaya (canto 11, v. 20) and *Rajrupak* (p. 167, v. 239) also mention that attempts to bribe Durga Das and other Rathors were made by Prince Muazzam in order to get back Akbar.

4. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 126; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 64-65 & 67.

5. Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 179. Also see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 126.

6. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 126-27; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 309; Dr. G.N. Sharma, p. 179. Also see Jodhpur Khyat, II, pp. 66-67.

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Deccan, Durga Das either intended to divert the Mughals from Marwar or he might have aimed at Rajput-Maratha alliance against Emperor Aurangzeb. When the news of Akbar's going to the Deccan reached Aurangzeb he also proceeded to Burhanpur (September, 1681). Md. Azim-ud-din, Prime Minister Asad Khan, Raja Bhim Singh and other nobles were appointed by him to govern Marwar.[1] He also appointed Inayat Khan as Faujdar of Jodhpur on March 20, 1681.[2] Before leaving Rajasthan for the Deccan Aurangzeb concluded peace with Rana Jai Singh of Mewar on June 24, 1681.[3] One of the terms of peace treaty was that when Ajit Singh would come of age, the Emperor would recognise him as a vassal Raja and Imperial mansabdar.[4] But the treaty with Mewar did not mean peace with the Rathors. Rather it gave further incentive to the Rathor sardars to rise in rebellion at various places in order to checkmate the future plans of devastation of Marwar by the Mughals.

Absence of Alamgir provided opportunities to the nobles of Marwar to create disturbances with a view to shake off the foundations of newly established Mughal Rule over Marwar. As early as July 13, 1681. Sonig looted two villages of the Mughal *thana* of Pokaran. Inayat Khan was deputed to subdue him.[5] But he (Sonig) moved from there and appeared again in the region round about Jaitaran. Thereupon, Shihabuddin was ordered by the Emperor to help Tarin, faujdar of Jaitaran, in suppressing the rebellious Rathor Chief (July 16, 1681 A.D.).[6] Ajaib Singh, another Rathor leader, looted Nadol while in the opposite direction Didwana was looted by the rebellious Rathors.[7] The rebels closed the roads and stopped supply of provisions.[8] From Didwana the rebels went to Makrana and created disturbances there [9] (November 16, 1681). No sooner did Aurangzeb

1. Ishwardas, 83 (b) & 84 (a); *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 131.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 127; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 65.
   According to *Ajit Granth* (pp. 684-86), Qasim Khan was appointed faujdar of Jodhpur.
3. Dr. G.N. Sharma, pp. 180-81.
4. Sarkar, V, pp. 217-218. Also see Elphinstone, p. 627 and Reu, I, p. 272.
5. *Akhabarat*, 24th regnal year, dated 13 July 1961, p. 1.
6. ibid., p. 3.
7. ibid., dated 22 September and 13 November, 1681, pp. 11-12.
8. ibid., dated October 16, 1681, p. 12.
9. ibid., dated November 16, 1681, p. 16; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 68.

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came to know of these distrubances he sent orders from the Deccan to Itiqad Khan to fight the Rathors who had assembled round about Merta. In a battle thus ensued (November 1681) between the Mughals and the Rathors about 500 Rathors were killed and many of them sustained severe injuries.[1] Again in February, 1682, the rebellious Rathors attacked the pargana of Mandalpur and carried off much property.[2] At the same time disturbances broke out once again in Jaitaran. The Rathors headed by Jodha Udai Bhan and Udawat Jagram Singh defeated the imperialists at Bhadrajun (1682) while Akhai Raj and others routed the Mughals from Balotra.[3] On April 14, 1685 Kumpawat Rathors captured the fort of Siwana after killing its Mughal Qiladar Purdil Khan in the battle of Khanana three miles from Siwana.[4] Thus, from 1681 to 1687 it was a people's war. The Rathors and the people of Marwar fought under different captains at different places. 'They had no common plan of action. Their only object was to attack the Mughals wherever they could.' The desultory warfare afforded many examples of Rathor bravery and devotion, but its actual effect was merely to keep the Mughal garrisons in constant alarm and to make their occupation of Marwar financially ruinous.[5]

In the meantime Durga Das after having despatched Prince Akbar from Konkan to Persia, returned safely to Badhnaur in Malwa. When Aurangzeb came to know of Durga Das's return from the Deccan he sent orders to Mir Khan, Subahdar of Ujjain, to inquire into the rumour and submit his factual report. By the time orders reached Mir Khan, Durga Das had managed to reach Marwar safely by August, 1687.

Durga Das, however, kept himself in touch with the developments in Marwar during his absence from the country. He was in regular correspondence with Mukand Das Khichi, in whose care he had left Ajit Singh, and his *samdhi* (daughter's father-in-law) Diwan

1. Ishwardas, f. 85 (a); *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 132. Also see *Ajitodaya*, canto ii, vv. 32-33.
2. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 133; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 69.
3. *Ajitodaya*, canto 11, vv. 49-52 and canto 12, vv. 2-7; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 69-70.
4. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 166; *Ajit Granth*, v. 1138; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 72-73.
5. J. N. Sarkar.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 77-78; Also see Reu, I. p. 279.

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Bhagwandas of Bilara. The letters[1] written by him from the Deccan during these six years (1681-87) reveal that the Rathor hero tried his best to find means and ways to help Akbar in recovering the throne of Hindustan, but his plans failed as no Maratha help came forth and so the ill-starred Prince was destined to die the death of a refugee in Persia.

But after his return to Marwar, Durga Das was shocked to learn that Ajit Singh was taken out of his concealment (March 13, 1687)[2], with all the formalities, but contrary to his instructions which he had left with Khichi Mukand Das on the eve of his departure for Deccan with Prince Akbar. So he did not go to Siwana to attend Ajit Singh's court but only sent the information of his arrival in Marwar through a messenger. Durga Das soon associated himself with Hada Durjan Sal and himself shouldered the responsibility of leading campaign against the Mughals.[3] Both of them proceeded towards Mewat and looted the village of Moham in that pargana.[4] In the year 1688, Durga Das fought a pitched battle with Muslim garrison at Sojat. In this encounter many warriors of both the sides were killed. Durga Das himself escaped to the hills of Chang.[5]

Aurangzeb was then deeply embroiled in the affairs of the Deccan. It was impossible for him to come to Marwar. Therefore, he sent orders to Kartalab Khan, better known as Shujaat Khan, then governor of Gujrat, to proceed to Marwar and supervise personally the military operations there. The said Khan appointed Hashim Beg and Mohammed Kazim Beg to pursue Durga Das towards Sojat and Jaitaran.[6]

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 77-78.
   As many as nine letters of Durga Das are preserved even to this day in the personal Archives of the Thikana Bilara. But it has not been possible to quote the exact extracts from those letters in the present work, as the authorities do not allow these letters to be copied or even photographed.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 79; *Ajit Granth*, v. 1482; *Rajrupak*, p. 25; also see Reu I, p. 278.
3. Ishwardas, f. 121 (a); *Ajit Granth*, v. 1493. Also see Sarkar, V, pp. 277-78. Durga Das's presence in Mewar is confirmed by the report of Sipahdar Khan, Faujdar of Mewat (*vide*, *Akhabarat*, 24th regnal year, dated October 1, 1688, p. 32).
4. Ishwardas, f. 121 (a); *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 84.
5. *Ajit Granth*, vv. 1548-1555.
6. *Akhabarat*, 24th regnal year, dated 7 April, 1688, p. 29; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I,

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The Imperial forces, succeeded in burning the villages of the Rathore hero, but so much terror was created in the heart of the Gujrat troops that no mansabdar was willing to accompany Kartalab Khan to Jodhpur to subdue Durga Das.[1] Shujaat Khan gave so much attention to the management of Jodhpur that he used to spend about six months in a year in Marwar.[2] He further appointed local persons as faujdars and put them in charge of the siege operations there. As such Kunwar Mohkam Singh was appointed faujdar of Merta.[3] At the same time plot was hatched against Ajit Singh by Shafi Khan, the faujdar of Ajmer. The plotters invited Ajit Singh to Ajmer and promised him *jagir* and *mansab* (1692). When Durga Das came to know of this plot and Ajit Singh's march in the direction of Ajmer, he, being his faithful servant, saved the young Prince from falling in the hands of the Mughals. However, during the absence of Ajit Singh from Siwana, the last fort of Marwar in his possession, passed on to the hands of the Imperialists.[4] Thereafter, Ajit Singh also joined Durga Das in the latter's campaigns against the Mughals. Shujaat Khan's petition dated May 27, 1695 informed the Emperor that Ajit Singh appeared with his forces with the object of raiding Imperial dominions or the villages thereof. The governor appointed his son Md. Qasim to deal with the rebel Prince which Qasim did successfully after killing 130 Hindus.[5] Mughal officers were once again appointed at several places. Ishwar Das Nager, the author of *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*, was appointed as the Amin of Jodhpur.[6]

Two decades of desultory warfare had exhausted the resources of the Rathors. The Mughals also got tired of the warfare. So, by the time Ajit Singh appeared on the stage, both sides were desirous of peace. Shujaat Khan's reconciliatory attitude towards the Rathors helped a long way in the conclusion of truce between the Mughals

p. 317; *Ajit Granth*, vv. 1518-26. Also see Bombay Gaz., I, p. 289. Shujaat Khan was appointed subahdar of Ahmedabad on 4 September, 168 (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 151).

1. *Ajit Granth*, vv. 1650-1714 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 318; *Akhabarat*, 24th regnal year, dated 8th and 11th April, 1688, p. 30.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 326. Also see Bombay Gaz., I, p. 289.
3. Bom. Gaz., I, p. 289.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 90-91.
5. *Akhabarat* (Royal Asiatic Society Collection), for the 38th year, dated 27 May, 1625, p. 468.
6. *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*, f. 167 (a).

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and the Rathors.[1] The newly appointed Amin of Jodhpur, Ishwar Das, became the main source of contact between him and the Rajputs. Ishwar Das began to cultivate friendly relations with the Rajputs soon after his arrival at Jodhpur. Durga Das, who was also tired of long rovings and rebellion, befriended him. The Rathor hero even sent a letter to him stating that if no harm is done to his home by the Mughal army posted at Jodhpur, he would send Saif-un-Nisa Begam, daughter of Prince Akbar, then reaching the age of puberty, to Aurangzeb's court. Ishwar Das forwarded that letter to his master Shujaat Khan who, in his turn, transmitted it to the Emperor. When the letter under reference reached Aurangzeb, he gave his approval. Therefore, under orders from the Emperor himself, Ishwar Das went repeatedly to Durga Das and successfully persuaded him to allow Saif-un-Nisa Begam to return to her grand-father. On the insistence of the Begam herself, Durga Das also agreed to accompany her to the Emperor's court. Thereupon, Ishwar Das under orders of Shujaat Khan, took both of them to the Deccan and presented them before the Emperor[2] on Friday 20th Zi-l-kada, 1109 A.H. (May 20, 1698). The Emperor was highly pleased to know from Akbar's daughter that even during confusion and tumult Durga Das had procured for her a tutoress from Ajmer who taught her the Quran. Having heard this the Emperor said, "Report to me what he (Durga Das) prays for ?" Thereupon, Ishwardas conveyed his desire that he wished to be honoured with a *mansab* and bounty. So, a robe and a rank of 200 *Zat* was bestowed upon him.[3] To allure Durga Das and to recover from his possession Buland Akhatar, son of Prince Akbar, Aurangzeb ordered Shujaat Khan to give Durga Das one lakh of rupees out of which half of the sum was to be given to him when he reached Jodhpur and the other half when he reached Ahmedabad. Shujaat Khan was further ordered to assign him land of Merta as a personal estate.[4] So, under orders from the Emperor, Ishwar Das was deputed once again by Shujaat Khan to persuade Durga Das to hand over Buland Akhatar too to Aurangzeb. Ishwar Das succeeded in his mission and under orders of Shujaat

1. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 325.
2. Ishwardas, f. 167 (a). Also see *Maassir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 240; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 94-96.
3. Ishwardas, f. 167 (b).
4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, pp. 332-33; *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 138.

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Khan, Buland Akhatar and Durga Das were conducted by him to the Imperial court. Aurangzeb granted a *mansab* of 3,000 *Zat* and 2,500 Sawars to Durga Das when he waited on him. A jewelled dagger and a ring of pearls was also given to him. Further, Durga Das was allowed to leave the court after a week in view of the assurance given to him by Shujaat Khan.[1] At the time of his departure, the pargana of Dhandhuka was added to his *jagir* under orders from the Emperor himself.[2]

The author of *Mirat-i-Alamgiri* informs us that when high honours were being bestowed upon him by Aurangzeb, he pleaded the cause of his master (Ajit Singh) and sought pardon for him as well.[3] Therefore, the *jagir* of Siwana besides Jalor and Sanchor was given to Ajit Singh, and Mujahid Khan, who was then holding these parganas in Jagir, was given Palanpur.[4]

Thus, Durga Das succeeded in getting a part of late Maharaja's dominions restored to his son and successor, Ajit Singh, through the Imperial favour (1696). By returning the Emperor's grand children he recovered peacefully Siwana, Jalor and Sanchor, the three strongholds, which his clansmen could not recover despite desultory warfare.

Durga Das had by this time won confidence of the Emperor who wanted him to escort Akbar to court when there was a rumour that the Prince was coming back from Persia. The Emperor issued a firman on Rajab 10, 1110 A.H. (January 2, 1699) asking Durga Das to proceed to Multan and conduct Akbar from there to the Imperial Court. In compliance with the Emperor's orders Durga Das left Merta for Qandhar in May, 1699.[5] But on reaching Qandhar he found

1. Ishwardas, f. 168 (b) ; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 240.
2. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 344; *Bom. Gaz.*, I, p. 290; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 95-96.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 341; *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 139; *Bom. Gaz.*, I part I, p. 290 ; also see Sarkar, V, p. 230.
4. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 341; *Tarikh-i-Palanpur*, I, p. 139.
   Grant of Siwana is confirmed by the *Akhabarat* (for the 43rd regnal year) dated 26 August, 1699, p. 133.
5. The original firman is in the possession of Jagirdar of Bagawas, who is a descendant of Rathor Durga Das and a copy of this firman is available in the file of Thikana concerned in the Archives Office, Jodhpur. *Akhabarat* dated 12 Zil ka'da, A.H. 1110 (7 May, 1699). RAS collection, pp. 98 & 99 also refer to this firman.

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the information of Akbar's return to India was only a rumour. So, he had to come back to his country.

In the meantime, Aurangzeb received a letter from Ajit Singh in which he had expressed his desire to attend the Emperor's court with a contingent of 4,000 *horses* provided some cash and *jagir* to maintain his retainers was granted to him by the Mughal Emperor. On receipt of petition from Ajit Singh Aurangzeb ordered a sum of Rs. 3000/- to be paid to him from Ajmer treasury and promised him a suitable *jagir* on his arrival at his court.[1] *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* informs us that 'owing to second failure of rain 1698-9 was a year of much scarcity in Marwar and Gujrat.' Ajit Singh, whose resources had already been exhausted in wars, might have been economically hard pressed and so he might have sent his petition to the Emperor for grant of *jagir* and *mansab*. Hereafter, Ajit Singh was also made an Imperial mansabdar and Jalor, Sanchor and Siwana were granted to him as *jagirs* with a *mansab* of 1,500 *Zat* and 500 *Sawar*.[2]

But this reconciliation ended with the death of Shujaat Khan who was the chief agency in bringing about truce between Aurangzeb and the Rathors. Shujaat Khan's successor, Prince Azam, was sent to Gujrat with instructions either to capture Durga Das or kill him, so that he might no more instigate Ajit Singh and other Rathors.[3] At that time Durga Das was faujdar of Patan in Gujrat. When he came to know that Safdar Khan and Afzal Khan were sent by Prince Azam to fulfil the commands of Aurangzeb, he fled away and reached Marwar.[4] When the Rathor hero came back to his country, he was surprised to learn that war-wariness seized his clansmen. Some of the Rathor chiefs had taken service with the Maharana of Udaipur while a few of them had joined the Mughals.[5] Moreover, owing to incessant war and spoilations, the economic exhaustion of Marwar was complete. To aggravate the difficulties, differences crept in between Ajit Singh and Durga Das. Aurangzeb took maximum

1. *Akhabarat* (RAS Collection), 44th year, dated 16 Nov. 1700, pp. 254-55.
2. *Akhabarat* (RAS Collection), 43rd year, p. 133. According to *Jodhpur Khyat* (Vol. II, p. 96), Ajit Singh was appointed a mansabdar of 2,000 *Zat* and 500 *Sawar*.
3. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, p. 348.
4. ibid., p. 349; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 98.
5. Karani Das, author of *Surajprakash* quoted by Sarkar, V, p. 234.

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advantage of the weakness of the Rathors. He abandoned the policy of reconciliation till then followed by Shujaat Khan. As a result thereof hostilities were renewed in 1702.[1] Thus, the Rathors could not recover Jodhpur from the Mughals in 1702.

Hence, Durga Das was also forced to return to Azam's court. Thereafter, the Rathor hero continued to be the faujdar of Patan even during 1703-4.[2] The absence of Durga Das from Marwar enabled the Mughal Emperor to keep Ajit Singh out of his kingdom and capital for another five years.[3]

Thus, with the death of puritan Aurangzeb, came to an end the thirty years of war of Rajput independence. To the Rathors it was a national war. The people of Marwar, even without a leader, fought for six years against the intruders. Thereafter, for about 25 years (1687-1712), Durga Das and Ajit Singh continued to guide and inspire the self-sacrificing Rathors. To fight the Rajputs Aurangzeb 'had to concentrate all the resources against two small states (Mewar and Marwar) and (yet) failed to achieve decisive success.' In the words of Manucci, a contemporary foreign traveller, 'Aurangzeb put in pledge the whole of his kingdom'.[4] Still the Rajputs were only scotched and could not be killed. The insults which had been offered to Ajit Singh and to Hindu religion and the ruthless and unnecessary severity of the Emperor's campaigns in Marwar left a 'sore which could not be healed.' "A race which had been the right arm of the Mughal Empire," writes Stanley Lane Poole, "was now hopelessly alienated, and never again served the throne without distrust."[5]

War of succession had become an invariable phenomenon with the Mughal Princes. Hence, the death of Emperor Aurangzeb was

1. Sarkar, V, pp. 232-33.
2. He attended Azam's Court on 6 Sept. 1702 (*Akhabarat*, 46th year. pp. 59-60). *Akhabarat*, 47th regnal year, dated 24 March 1703 ; ibid., 48th regnal year, part I, p. 37 ; ibid., 22 Feb., 1702, pp. 47-48.
   Maasir-i-Alamgiri confirms that Durga Das returned to Azam's court and soon after his return he was restored to the rank of 3,000 *Zat* and 2,000 *Sawar*.
   Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 99.
3. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 174; Sarkar, V, pp. 235-36.
4. Manucci, II, p. 240.
5. Lane Poole, *Aurangzeb*, p. 141.

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also followed by war of succession among his sons. He had five sons and five daughters. But at the time of his death only three claimants (Muazzam, Azam and Kam Bakhah) remained to contest the throne.[1] To avoid conflict among his sons Aurangzeb is said to have left a will for the partition of his vast dominion among them.[2]

Aurangzeb's eldest surviving son, Muazzam, better known as Shah Alam, was at Jamrud when the Old Emperor breathed his last at Ahmadnagar in the Deccan[3], while his second son Azam Shah was not very far. Kam Bakhah, the third son, was appointed by him as a subahdar of Bijapur only a few weeks before his death (February 5, 1707).[4]

But all the sons in total disregard of their father's will started manoeuvring for superseding the claims of each other. Muazzam not only hastened to Agra and reached there as early as June 12, 1707 but he also called his second son Prince Azim-ush-Shah from Bengal to Agra.[5] The joint forces of Shah Azam and Azim-ush-Shan, numbering about 40,000 soon captured the fort of Agra as Baqi Khan Qul, then Qiladar of the fort, found himself unable to withstand the huge army.[6]

Meanwhile, Azam Shah proclaimed himself Emperor at Ahmadnagar, after having returned back there on February 22, 1707.[7] Kam Bakhsh also did not lag behind and assumed independence and declared himself a full-fledged sovereign.[8]

Thus, contest for succession to the throne among the three ambitious Shahzadas became inevitable. Naturally, therefore on the eve of the war, Muazzam and Azam, the two indomitable rivals, had bid for Rajput support. As early as Muharram 14, A.H. 1119 (April 6, 1707). Ajit Singh received a firman inviting him to proceed to Delhi and also assured the Raja of all favour and support from the Emperor.[9] Ajit Singh had also received similar firman from Azam

1. Irvine, I, p. 1.
2. Khafi Khan, VII, Irvine, I, p. 6.
3. Bhimsen, II, f. 163 (b); *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 319.
4. Irvine, I, pp. 4-5.
5. *Roznamcha*, f. 4 (b).
6. Khafi Khan, pp. 392-393 ; Irvine, I, pp. 20-21.
7. Bhimsen, II, f. 162 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 391; Irvine, I, p. 8.
8. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 390; Irvine, I, p. 11.
9. Firman No. 12, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner.

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Shah on May 9, 1706 (safar 6, 1118 A.H.). It is clear from the firman under reference that even during Aurangzeb's life-time his son Azam had started preparations for the War of Succession. Azam granted to Ajit Singh the much-coveted title of 'Maharaja' and also *mansab* of 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar*.[1] Thus on the eve of the battle of Jajau, both parties (Muazzam and Azam) appealed to Ajit Singh for military help.[2]

Ajit Singh, however, did not side with either of the two brothers in the battle of Jajau.[3] On the other hand he took maximum advantage from this civil war by recovering Jodhpur from the Mughal faujdar soon after Aurangzeb's death. Ajit Singh came to know of his death at Jalor. So, he proceeded from there towards Jodhpur. Zafar Quli referred to by the *Khyats* as Zafar Beg, fled away from there in fear when he came to know of Ajit Singh's arrival in the vicinity of Jodhpur.[4] After his flight Ajit Singh captured the Fort and City of Jodhpur. Thereafter, the fort of Jodhpur was purified with Ganges water and *tulsi* leaves, and only then, Ajit Singh entered the Fort on March 12, 1707.[5] Since the Mughals had fled away in despair, 'their wealth which they had amassed by extortion and oppression returned to enrich' Ajit Singh.[6]

Finding the Central Government at Delhi and Agra weak, Ajit Singh devoted his energies to the recovery of hereditary dominions. Therefore, Kushal Singh of Merta was sent by him to capture Merta from the Mughals which he successfully captured. Within a short period of time his sway extended over Sojat and Pali as well.[7]

1. Firman No. 2, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner. This firman appears to have been issued by Prince Azim-ush-Shan for he had issued one firman previously as well on 29 Zil-hijja, A.H. 1113 (May 16, 1702).
2. According to Bhimsen (Vol. II, f. 170 b) and *Maathir-ul-Umara* (Vol. I, p. 174) summons were sent to Ajit Singh by Prince Muazzam on the eve of the battle of Jajau.
3. Irvine, I, pp. 22-33; Sarkar, *Military History of India*, pp. 118-24; Satish Chandra, p. 29.
4. Bhimsen, II, f. 170 (b) ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, pp. 376-77 ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 17, vii; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 106; *Rajrupak*, p. 34; *Vir Vinod*, p. 834.
5. *Ajitodaya*, canto 17, v. II; *Rajrupak*, p. 34; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 377; Tod, II, p. 1012.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 116; Tod, II, p. 1012 ; Also see *Rajrupak*, p. 34.
7. *Ajitodaya*, canto 17, vv. 12-17 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 112-13 ; Tod, II, p. 1012.

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Ajit Singh not only recovered Jodhpur, Sojat, Pali and Merta from the Mughals but he also threw off the garb of allegiance. He even began to oppress Musalmans of Jodhpur in revenge. Killing of cows was forbidden and summons to prayer (*Azan*) were prevented. Mosques which had been built after the destruction of temples were razed to ground and in their place new temples were constructed.[1]

While Ajit Singh was thus busy in the consolidation of Marwar Muazzam after having defeated Azam in the battle of Jajau (June 8, 1707) ascended the throne of Hindustan and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah.[2] At the time of his coronation ceremony Ajit Singh neither went from Jodhpur to Delhi nor did he send customary congratulations to the new Emperor.[3] Thus, the refractory and rebellious attitude of Ajit Singh became conspicuously clear to Bahadur Shah. His fanatical attitude also goaded him to punish Ajit. Therefore, the Emperor was forced to march towards Rajasthan to chastise Ajit Singh and Sawai Jaisingh, who had sided with Azam in the battle of Jajau.[4] He left Agra on October 24, 1707 (Shaban 8, A.H. 1119).[5] While he was encamped at Bhusawar (from November 25 to December 24, 1707) Bahadur Shah appointed Mihrab Khan as faujdar of Jodhpur and entrusted him with the task of 'taking possession of the city of Jodhpur'.[6] Bahadur Shah on his way from Bhusawar to Ajmer halted at Amber. He took possession of Amber and after handing it over to Bijaysingh, younger brother of Sawai Jaisingh, himself proceeded in the direction of Ajmer. When Ajit Singh came to know of the Emperor's march on Jodhpur, he in order to avert the threatened seize sent two of his sardars named

1. Elliot, VII, p. 404 ; Also see *Rajrupak*, p. 34.
2. Bhimsen, II, f. 167 (a) ; *Roznamcha*, f. 4 (b) ; *Cambridge History*, IV, p. 320. Jajau is 20 miles South of Agra.
3. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 405.
4. *Siyat Mutakherine*, I, p. 13; *Vir Vinod*, p. 834.
   According to *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Vol. I, p. 385) the Governor of Gujrat also dispatched an army under Firaz Jang to chastise Ajit Singh.
5. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 405.
   According to *Bahadurshahnama* (p. 44) quoted by Irvine, I, p. 46, the Emperor left Agra on 17th Shaban (2 November, 1707).
6. *Bahadurshahnama* quoted by Irvine (Vol. I, p. 46); *Akhabarat*, Bahadur Shah's reign, dated 20th Shawwal, A.H. 1119 (13 January 1708), p. 379.
   Also see *Ajitodaya*, canto 17, v. 33. According to this authority Jodhpur was also captured by Mihrab Khan.

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Mukand Singh and Bakhat Singh to wait on the Emperor at Ajmer.[1] At the same time Durga Das also sent his petition to the Emperor seeking permission to attend the Imperial Court.[2] When the petitions of Ajit Singh and Durga Das reached Bahadur Shah, he issued two firmans addressed to both of them separately on 14th and 17th Zil-Ka'da (January 26 and 29, 1708) respectively.[3]

Meanwhile, Mihrab Khan, the faujdar designate of Jodhpur, had proceeded up to Merta and after having defeated the forces of Marwar in the battle of Merta on February 12, 1708 captured Merta and the neighbouring country.[4]

Subsequently, Khan-i-Zaman, son of Khan Khana, was sent to persuade Ajit Singh to submit to the Emperor's authority.[5] Khan-i-Zaman returned to the Imperial Court and submitted Ajit Singh's petition to the Emperor. The petition revealed that the Raja entertained grave doubts about the intentions of the Emperor.[6] So Khan-i-Zaman was ordered to proceed at the head of 9,145 cavalry and 2,000 footmen to fetch Ajit Singh from Jodhpur.[7] Artillery was also despatched under the command of Bakhshi-ul-Mulk Shah Nawaz

1. *Akhabarat*, 1st year of Bahadur Shah's reign, dated 14th Zil-Ka'da, A.H. 1119 (January 1708), p. 419 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 117; Irvine, I, p. 417.
2. Bahadur Shah's firman to Durga Das dated 17th Zil-Ka'da, A.H. 1119 (29, January 1708), refers Durga Das's letter to the Emperor.
   Original firman is in the possession of Jagirdar of Bagawas and a copy of the firman is available in Archives Office, Jodhpur.
3. *Akhabarat*, 1st year of Bahadur Shah's reign, pp. 419 and 427. Also see Irvine, I, pp. 47-48.

   According to *Rajrupak*, Bahadur Shah sent one Nahar Khan, a former servant of Ajit Singh, to persuade him to accept the Imperial authority. Chapawat Bhagwan Das accompanied Nahar Khan to the Emperor's court under instructions from Ajit Singh himself. When he returned to Marwar a firman was handed over by him to Ajit Singh which the Emperor had given to him.
4. Irvine, I, p. 47.

   According to *Jodhpur Khyat*, the city and fort of Jodhpur was also evacuated by Ajit Singh who sent his family to Siwana (see *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 118 ; also see *Rajrupak*, p. 35). Thus, after the defeat of Rathors at Merta, Jodhpur also passed into the hands of the Mughals.
5. Bhimsen, II, f. 170; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 405; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 120; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 174; Irvine, I, p. 48.
6. *Akhabarat*, 1st year, p. 443.
7. ibid., pp. 443 & 445.

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Khan, Rao Sujan Singh and Gopal Singh.[1] Thus, by show of arms, Ajit Singh was compelled to accept Bahadur Shah's authority. By that time, as a result of thirty years of desultory warfare, Ajit's resources had been completely exhausted. Therefore, he had no other recourse but to submit. He was wise to have realised that submission and obedience alone could save Marwar from annihilation.[2]

In the meantime Bahadur Shah had reached Merta on February 11, 1708.[3] Ajit Singh accompanied Khan-i-Zaman and paid his homage to the Emperor at Anandpur, a village in the vicinity of Merta, on February 15, 1708.[4] The Emperor ordered Ajit Singh to stand among the nobles on the left side of the Imperial throne. Ajit Singh was also granted Rs. 50,000 as grant-in-aid on Zil-hijja 6 (Feb. 17).[5] Next day he was awarded a horse with golden trappings; his Sardars, present there, were given *khilats*.[6] Subsequently on March 11, 1708, the title of Maharaja was given to him while on April 13, he received a mansab of 3,500 *Zat* and 3,000 *Sawar* of which 1,000 was Du-aspa.[7]

But Bahadur Shah did not restore Jodhpur to Ajit Singh in March 1708 , because just then he was receiving alarming news from the Deccan about the rebellion of his brother Kam Bakhsh. Before proceeding to the Deccan, Bahadur Shah wanted to subdue the three

1. ibid., p. 453.
2. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 405.
3. Irvine, I, p. 48.
4. *Rajrupak*, p. 35, alone gives the exact name of the place where Bahadur Shah and Ajit Singh met. *Jodhpur Khyat* also confirms that the Mughal Emperor had proceeded up to Bilara, a place hardly 26 miles S.-W. of Pipar. Anandpur is situated between Pipar junction and Merta.
5. *Akhabarat*, 2nd year, p. 3.
6. ibid., p. 5; *Vir Vinod*, p. 836.
   Grant-in-aid is also mentioned in *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 121.
7. *Bahadurshahnama*, p. 82 quoted by Irvine, I, p. 48. According to Bhimsen and *Maathir-ul-Umara*, mansab of 3,000 *Zat* and *Sawar* rank was conferred upon Ajit (See Bhimsen, II, f. 170 (b); *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 174) while *Jodhpur* mentions that a mansab of 3,500 *Zat* and 4,000 *Sawar* together with the three parganas Sojat, Siwana and Phalodi were granted to Ajit Singh (See *Khyat*, II, p. 126). But the author of *Vir Vinod* informs that as the Emperor was not ready and willing to restore Jodhpur then to Ajit Singh and so he declined to accept the mansab as well as the parganas. But the writer has not quoted any authority and the contemporary authorities also do not mention Ajit Singh's denial. Hence, it is difficult to believe the version of *Vir Vinod*.

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important Rajas of Rajasthan (Rana Amer Singh II of Mewad, Jai Singh II of Amber and Ajit Singh) because these Rajas were reported to be in coalition with each other. Therefore, as soon as he was able to subdue Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, he turned his attention towards Mewad. The Rana also acknowledged his overlordship. Thus, the three Rajput Rajas were compelled by the Emperor to accept his suzerainty. Thereafter, Bahadur Shah decided to proceed against his rebellious brother, Kam Bakhsh.

Bahadur Shah did not want to give opportunity to 'the refractory and rebellious Rajas' to unite against him during his absence from Northern India. So, he informed Ajit Singh and Jai Singh on February 25, 1708 that both of them were required to accompany him to the Deccan.[1] The Emperor wanted to take both of them from Rajasthan in the interest of security and stability of his own Empire while these Rajas thought that by rendering military service to the Emperor, both of them would recover their respective States through imperial favour. Thus, Ajit Singh and Jai Singh joined the imperial retinue and started for the Deccan with Bahadur Shah.

When Bahadur Shah's retinue was encamped at Mandleshwar (a pargana of Subah Malwa) Durga Das proposed to Ajit Singh 'as all efforts of Nawab Khan Khana have failed to get back Jodhpur from the Emperor, the only recourse left to us is to leave the Emperor and return to Marwar.' He supported his contention by pointing out to Ajit Singh that Mihrab Khan, the faujdar of Jodhpur, might be harassing the families of the Rathor Sardars residing in Jodhpur. He further informed the Raja that grain was sold at two seers per rupee in Deccan. So, Durga Das proposed that the Rathors should retreat to Jodhpur. As Ajit Singh did not want to quit the Imperial army all alone he tried to persuade Jai Singh as well to leave the Imperial force. Meanwhile, the Emperor and party had reached the environs of Barod. Thence, Jai Singh, Ajit Singh and Durga Das retreated towards Mewad. On their way back to Mewad, they visited Deolia Pratapgarh. When they reached the outskirts of Mewad Rana Amar Singh II received the two Rajas at Debari Gate-way, six miles ahead of his capital Udaipur.[2]

1. *vide, Akhabarat*, 2nd year, dated 14 Zil-hijja, A.H. 1119 (25 Feb., 1708), p. 23; Irvine, I, p. 67.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 127-28; Irvine, p. 67.

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Now the three Rajas decided among themselves at that time not only to recover their respective countries from the Mughals but also vainly dreamt of bringing the whole of Hindustan under their sway.[1] The ties of friendship were cemented by matrimonial relationship. Ajit Singh was already married to one of the Princesses of Mewad. Therefore, Rana Amar Singh II decided to marry his daughter to Jai Singh of Amber at that time.

At the time of marriage, Ajit Singh was given Rs. 10,000 besides 2,000 *Barkandaz* and four guns by Rana Amar Singh. Ajit Singh took leave and came to Sojat via Desuri pass. Thence, Ajit Singh, Jai Singh and Durga Das proceeded in the direction of Jodhpur. Having heard of Ajit's march towards Jodhpur, Mihrab Khan, the faujdar of Jodhpur, requested the Mughal Subahdar at Ajmer to send reinforcement. But the desired help could not reach Jodhpur in time. So, Mihrab Khan decided to relinquish the fort of Jodhpur. Two Rathor Sardars named Kalyan Singh and Hindu Singh escorted the Mughal faujdar from Jodhpur to Ajmer.[2] Thus, Ajit Singh once again recovered the fort of Jodhpur on 12 dark half of Shravan, v.s. 1765 (July 18, 1708).[3] This was the first time after 1527 when forces of Mewad, Marwar and Amber had joined hands against the Mughals.

When Ajit Singh formally ascended the *gadi* in the Fort palace, Jai Singh was encamped at Sur Sagar. Then Jai Singh was a Prince without a State. Naturally, therefore, he was unhappy. Hence, after having recovered Jodhpur, Ajit Singh was morally bound to help him in recovering Amber from the Mughals as per agreement arrived at Udaipur between the three Rajas. So, after having realised 'peshkash' from Ajmer both of them proceeded in the direction of Sambhar. Meanwhile, Bahadur Shah came to know of their joint march.[4]

Irvine has also mentioned the flight of Ajit Singh, Jai Singh and Durga Das (Irvine, I, pp. 49-50). According to Irvine they escaped from the Emperor's camp on the 30 April 1708 (*ibid.*, I, p. 67).

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 127-28.
2. Irvine has also mentioned that 'through the intervention of Durga Das Rathor Mihrab Khan was allowed to retreat with honour.'
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 132-33 ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 17, vv. 34-35 ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 35-36 ; Irvine, I, pp. 67-68.
4. Irvine, I, p. 68.

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Therefore, he directed as many as seven Subahdars to rush to the help of *thanahdar* of Sambhar. Sayyid Hussain Khan Barha was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces. The Mughal army was routed by the Rajputs in September 1708, in the battle.[1] Thus, battle of Sambhar occupies an important place in the annals of Rajasthan inasmuch as it restored the principality of Amber to its rightful claimant, Jaisingh. Further, it was the last battle in which the two rival houses—Marwar and Amber—joined hands against the Mughal Emperor.

Ajit Singh took maximum advantage of Bahadur Shah's absence from Northern India. Therefore, after his victory at Sambhar, Ajit Singh went in the direction of Nagore to chastise Rao Indar Singh. But he could not dislodge him from there as Indar Singh's mother intervened at the eleventh hour and solicited reconciliation between the two.[2] Thereafter, Ajit Singh marched against the Imperial faujdar of Didwana who was forced to submit to his authority.[3]

Bahadur Shah, whose policy 'throughout his reign' was one of conciliation adopted more conciliatory attitude towards the Rajputs after the defeat of the Mughals in the battle of Sambhar. On the request of Prime Minister Asad Khan and Prince Azim-ush-Shan, the Emperor restored the title of Raja to Ajit Singh and his mansab was also restored on Rajab 28, A.H. 1120 (October 2, 1708).[4] Just then the Sikhs threatened to attack Delhi. Therefore, the Emperor in his eagerness to patch up the differences with the Rajput Rajas issued firman granting Jodhpur (*Watan Jagir*) to Raja Ajit Singh.[5] Further,

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 138-40; *Rajrupak*, p. 36; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 835-37; Irvine, I, pp. 68-70.
   Battle of Sambhar has been graphically described by a contemporary poet, Kala Nidi. The MS. entitled *Sambhara Yuddha* is in the library of Harvard University, U.S.A. (see *Sambhara Yuddha*, MS. No. 6004, Harvard University).
2. *Ajitodaya*, canto 18, vv. 1-6 & 99-106.
3. ibid., canto 19, vv. 17-18; *Vir Vinod*.
4. *Akhabarat*, end year, p. 110; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 142-44; *Ajitodaya*, canto 19, vv. 31-38; Tod, II, pp. 1014-15.
   According to Irvine, Ajit Singh was restored to his rank and *mansab* on 6 October 1708 on the intercession of Prince Azim-ush-Shan. See Irvine, I, p. 71.
5. *vide*, firman No. 3 (Archives Office, Bikaner); *Akhabarat*, 4th year, p. 89; Irvine, I, pp. 72-73.

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Bakhshi-ul-mulk Mahabat Khan was ordered to escort Ajit Singh and Jai Singh to the Imperial capital.[1] Again on June 16, 1710 *mansab* of 4,000 *Zat* and 4,000 *Sawar* was granted to Ajit Singh. His sons (Takhat Singh, Amar Singh and Jeet Singh) were also given *mansabs*.[2] Subsequently, the pargana Dhuluta in the Subah Ahmedabad was granted to Ajit Singh's eldest son, Abhai Singh on December 10, 1710.[3]

On Safar 13, A.H. 1123 (March 22, 1711), firmans were issued to Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Jai Singh summoning both of them to the Imperial capital.[4] Ajit Singh reached Narnol with his army consisting of 12,000 horsemen and 3,000 footmen on Jamadi-us-sani 10, A.H. 1123 (July 15, 1711).[5] Raja Ajit Singh was deputed by the Emperor to subdue the rebellious 'Sikhs' of Sadhaura on 11 Ramzan (October 12, 1711).[6] Ajit Singh together with Raja Jai Singh of Amber reached his destination after five days.[7]

Ajit Singh was appointed Faujdar of Sorath on 12 Shawwal, A.H. 1123 (November 12, 1711). Therefore, he took leave of the Emperor on 17th Zil-hijja (January 15, 1712).[8] The Emperor bestowed *khilats* upon Ajit Singh and Jai Singh for their notable deeds in suppressing the rebels.[9]

Emperor Bahadur Shah breathed his last on Monday 21 Muharram, A.H. 1124 (February 19, 1712).[10] He tried to narrow the gulf between the Rathors and the Mughals by bestowing favours upon the Rathor Chief. But he could not bridge it because in the early years of his reign he carried on the policy of his father by attempting to maintain Mughal control over Jodhpur by the force of arms. He even tried to extend the Mughal hold on the whole of Rajasthan by

1. *vide, Akhabarat,* 4th year, pp. 111-12,
2. ibid., p, 88.
3. ibid., p. 418.
4. ibid., 5th year, p. 109.
5. ibid., p. 251.
6. ibid., p. 406.
7. ibid., p. 415.
8. *vide,* firman No. 5, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner; *Akhabarat*, 5th year, p. 452.
9. *Roznamcha, f.* 8 (a); Irvine, I, p. 135.
10. *Akhabarat*, 6th year, p. 568; Irvine, I, p. 135.

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displacing Jai Singh from the *gadi* of Amber in favour of his younger brother. He even continued to follow this policy as late as the year 1709 when after the defeat of the Imperial forces in the battle of Sambhar Bahadur Shah came to realise the strength of the Rajputs. No doubt he did not grant the much-coveted *mansabs* and high posts to Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, yet as a result of his conciliatory attitude both of them were able to recover their lost *Watan Jagirs*. Ajit Singh thus took maximum advantage of the weak successor of Aurangzeb at Delhi. He not only succeeded in ending his days of vicissitudes by recovering Jodhpur and the neighbouring area, but by befriending the other two big Rajput Rajas—Rana Amarsingh II of Mewad and Sawai Raja Jai Singh of Amber—and a few Muslim grandees like Asaf-ud-daullah at Delhi created a circle of his own because of which Bahadur Shah had to abandon the policy of his father in the later half of his reign. The cumulative effect of these manoeuverings was his increased importance in the affairs of Mughal empire after 1713.

Ajit Singh and Jahandar Shah

During the reign of Bahadur Shah's son and successor Abdul Fath Muhammad Muizuddin Jahandar Shah, who ascended the throne of Hindustan on Safar 21, A.H. 1124 (March 19, 1712) at Lahore, Ajit Singh created one more supporter in the person of Churaman Jat, who was Jahandar Shah's ally.[1]

Jahandar Shah's policy was to grant concessions to his Hindu allies particularly the Rajputs. Therefore, on November 4, 1712 Ajit Singh, who had his eye on Gujrat since long was appointed as Subahdar of Ahmedabad by the new Emperor Jahandar Shah.[2]

On the eve of battle of Agra (January 1713)[3], Jahandar Shah issued firmans to the various Imperial grandees summoning them to render military service to the *De facto* sovereign. Hence a firman was also sent to Maharaja Ajit Singh on Zil-Ka'da 15, A.H. 1124

1. See Qanungo's *Historical Essays* (1960), p. 60.
2. See *Roznamcha*, f. 122 ; *Rajrupak* (Introduction), p. 37; Satish Chandra, p. 74. Just then Ajit Singh's *mansab* was also raised to 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar* and the title of Maharaja was granted to him.—*Jaipur Records*, Vol. II, p. 21 (Misc. papers).
3. Battle of Agra was fought for the Imperial Mughal throne between Emperor Jahandar Shah and Prince Farrukh Siyar.

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(December 31, 1712).[1] But Ajit Singh like his other friends, Jai Singh and Churaman Jat, also preferred to remain neutral in the civil war. Still he sent order to Bhandari Vijay Raj, his Vakil at Agra, that he should keep both the parties in lull and support the cause of only that party which appeared to be gaining ground.[2] Thus, Jahandar Shah did not get any help from his Hindu allies in the civil war which ended the ten months and twenty days' old rule in December, 1713. His reign "marks the rapid abandonment of the policies of Aurangzeb which had to some extent been maintained by Bahadur Shah. Thus, the Jizya was abolished, large concessions were made to the Rajputs, and an attempt was made to maintain and extend the accord with the Marathas."[3]

Ajit Singh and Farrukh Siyar

Jahandar Shah's successor Muin-ud-din Muhammad Farrukh Siyar Badshah ascended the throne at Agra on 15th Zil-hijja, A.H. 1124 (January 2, 1713). The beginning of his inglorious reign was marked by the murder of Nawab Zulfiqar Khan. Soon after his accession differences crept in between him and his partisans—the well-known Sayyid brothers—Sayyid Abdullah and Sayyid Hussain Ali.[4]

Ajit Singh sent his messenger to Agra to offer congratulations to the new Emperor at the time of his coronation.[5] But Farrukh Siyar was not satisfied with the letter of felicitation and submission. He, therefore, summoned Ajit Singh as well as Jai Singh to the Court.[6] Ajit Singh, who had begun to suspect Farrukh Siyar from the very beginning of his reign after the murder of Zulfiqar Khan avoided his immediate presence on one pretext or the other. Therefore, the recalcitrant attitude of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh gave ample provocation to the Emperor.[7]

1. *Akhabarat*, 1st year of Bahadur Shah's reign, p. 325 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 156 ; Qanungo, *Historical Essays*, p. 59; Satish Chandra, p. 84.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II. p. 156.
3. Dr. Satish Chandra, p. 85.
4. See Irvine, I, pp. 244-54.
5. *Akhabarat*, 1st year, Farrukh Siyar's reign, dated 1 February, 1713, p. 27.
6. ibid., July 14, 16, 1713, quoted by Satish Chandra, p. 99.
7. *Ibratnamah*, ff. 59 (b)-60 (a). Also see Satish Chandra, p. 99.

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Farrukh Siyar tried to conciliate the two Rajas, Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, by raising their *mansabs* to the rank of 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar*. Firman was also issued in the name of Maharaja Ajit Singh. His faults were pardoned and he was restored to his former rank and estate. Subsequently, he was appointed Subahdar of Thatta. But as Ajit Singh 'had eyes on Gujrat (he)....refused to obey the Imperial Commands'. Thus, disobedience on the part of Ajit Singh proved an immediate cause of Farrukh Siyar's wrath.[1]

Moreover, Ajit Singh's 'unworthy conduct' in demolishing the mosques and rebuilding temples in their places enraged the Emperor.[2]

But the chronicles of Marwar give a different cause of the invasion of Jodhpur under the command of Sayyid Hussain Ali. According to these chronicles the immediate cause of rupture between Farrukh Siyar and Ajit Singh was murder of the two sons of Rao Indra Singh of Nagore. Indra Singh's sons were murdered at Delhi at the instance of Ajit Singh. So, Indra Singh is said to have poisoned the ears of the Emperor against Ajit Singh.[3]

Similarly, according to *Ajitodaya*, Raja Raj Singh of Kishangarh, who had strained relations with Ajit Singh induced Farrukh Siyar to send forces against the Rathor Raja.[4]

Moreover, Mir Jumla, who was one of the rivals of the Sayyid brothers at Delhi, wanted to remove Hussain Ali from the imperial capital to lessen the strength and influence of the two brothers. So, he also persuaded the Emperor to send a force under the command of one of the brothers to chastise Ajit Singh.[5]

In fact, the invasion of Marwar was a political necessity for the Mughal Emperor. Union of Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, the two big Rajput Rajas, was supposed to be a serious threat to the security and

1. *Roznamcha*, f. 77; Firman No. 6, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner, see *Siyar-ul-Mutakherine*, 1st year, dated 6th and 7th Muharrum, A.H. 1125 (January 22 & 23, 1731), pp. 33 and 35 ; Satish Chandra, pp. 99-100.
2. Khafi Khan, vii, pp. 446-47; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherine*, I, p. 67 ; Irvine, I, p. 285.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 157-58 ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 20, vv. 24-26 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 38 ; Tod, II, p. 1020 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 841.
4. *Ajitodaya*, canto 20, vv. 36-39.
5. *Munawwar-i-Kalam*, f. 4 (a) Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 437-48 ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 21, vv. 1-38.

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stability of Mughal Empire. Hence, Hussain Quli Khan was despatched to Marwar on January 6, 1714 at the head of about one lakh men to chastise Raja Ajit Singh.[1]

When Ajit Singh came to know of the invasion he advanced from Jodhpur Fort to Rai-ka-Bagh, a place couple of miles east of the Fort palace, and encamped there at the head of his 18,000 Rajputs. Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, having advanced up to Merta, encamped at Ridmodi (half way between Merta and Jodhpur). Ajit Singh sent his Pradhan Champawat Bhagwandas with other Sardars to negotiate terms of peace with Sayyid Hussain Ali. Bhandari Raghunath and Khimsi settled the following terms of peace with the Imperial Commander[2] :

(1) *Dola* of Bai Indra Kunwar, daughter of Raja Ajit Singh, be sent to the Emperor.

(2) Maharajkumar Abhai Singh be sent to attend the Imperial Court.

(3) Whenever required Ajit Singh would also attend the Mughal Court in person.

(4) The Raja was to pay homage to the Imperial throne by paying *peshkash*

The terms of peace were ratified by Ajit Singh on Rabi-ul-awwal 14, A.H. 1126 (March 19, 1714). Both parties were eager for early settlement. Just then Hussain Quli Khan was receiving letters from his brother Abdullah Khan summoning him to the Court at an early date.[3] Ajit Singh, whose resources had already been exhausted, was no match for mighty Mughal army. So, he decided to end hostilities by giving the *dola* of his daughter to the Mughal Emperor. "But the most important part of the treaty was a private pact between

1. *Roznamcha*, f. 124 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 163 ; Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 446-47 ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 38-39 ; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 174 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 841 ; Irvine, I, pp. 288-90 ; Satish Chandra, pp. 101-2.
2. *Roznamcha*, f. 124 ; Irvine, I, p. 290. *Dola Dena—Dola* is a Hindi word meaning to give a daughter to a superior by way of tribute. In this marriage the bride is taken to the town of the bridegroom's residence where the marriage is celebrated, and the bridegroom does not go to the town of the bride's parental home as is usually the case.
3. Irvine, I, p. 292 ; Satish Chandra, p. 101.

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Hussain Ali and Ajit Singh which was kept secret for the time being. According to it, Hussain Ali promised that as soon as Ajit Singh had marched a couple of stages towards Thatta, and thus publicly demonstrated his obedience of the Imperial orders, he would be appointed to Gujrat. In compliance with the understanding, Ajit Singh left for Thatta, and as soon as he had marched a few stages, he was appointed the Subahdar of Gujrat."[1]

Farrukh Siyar has been accused of playing a double role in his campaign against Marwar. He is alleged to have written secret letters to Maharaja Ajit Singh 'to crush his invader by every means.'[2] But, apparently, the allegation framed against Farrukh Siyar by later historians does not appear to be correct. In the first instance, Mirza Mohemmed and Khafi Khan, the two contemporary historians, have not mentioned this story. In the second instance, Chronicles of Marwar also did not mention this. Thirdly, Ajit Singh was an avowed enemy of the Emperor. How could the Emperor entrust an enemy such a delicate task ? Moreover, till then Ajit Singh and Farrukh Siyar had never met each other. If Ajit Singh had received such a letter, he would not have sent his Sardars to Hussain Ali Khan to open peace negotiations. On the other hand the Maharaja might have tried to capture the Amir-ul-Umara by persuading him to proceed up to Jodhpur. Ajit Singh's action shows that he did not want the Sayyid to reach Jodhpur. Further, the Rathor Chief might not have entered into a secret alliance with Hussain Ali Khan for the Subahdari of Gujrat if he had been in league with the Mughal Emperor himself. In case Farrukh Siyar had sent secret instructions to Ajit Singh to crush the Imperial Commander, there seems to be no reason which prevented Ajit Singh from carrying out the imperial instructions.

1. *Ibratnama* by Mirza Mohemmed, f. 60a, quoted by Satish Chandra, p. 102. The formal firman appointing Ajit Singh as Subahdar of Gujrat was issued on 10 December 1715 (see the original firman No. 10, Rajasthan Archives, Bikaner).

   Maathir-ul-Umara (Vol. I, p. 174), Shiv Das (f. 10), Khafi Khan (VIII, pp. 446-47), *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Vol. II, p. 1) and *Rajrupak* (p. 39) confirm that Ajit Singh was appointed Subahdar of Gujrat. But the *Akhabarats* inform us that when Ajit Singh had actually marched two or three stages from Jodhpur in the direction of Thatta, Sayyid Hussain Ali pleaded his cause before the Emperor who appointed him as Subahdar of Gujrat in place of Thatta (See *Akhabarat*, 3rd year of Farrukh Siyar's reign, pp. 169-70).
2. Irvine, I, p. 292 ; Satish Chandra, p. 101.

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Hence, it is difficult to believe the story which has been accepted as true by the modern historians.

Hussain Quli Khan hastened towards Delhi after concluding peace with Ajit Singh. He sent Shaista Khan on May 15, 1715 to Jodhpur to escort *Dola* of Indra Kunwar from Jodhpur to Delhi.[1] Ajit Singh gave fifty lakhs of rupees in cash besides 50 Arab horses and 10 elephants in dowry.[2]

Indra Kunwar was married to Emperor Farrukh Siyar at Delhi on Zil-hijja 25, A.H. 1127 (December 11, 1715).[3] The functions observed at the time of her marriage 'were a mixture of Muhammadan and Hindu usages.'[4]

Notwithstanding the manner in which the marriage was celebrated, its effects were significant and of far-reaching consequences. By giving his daughter in marriage to the Mughal Emperor, Ajit Singh came in close contact with the Imperial house of Delhi. His importance as an imperial grandee was increased. That is why he was able to play a leading role in the politics of the then Hindustan. Moreover, Ajit Singh saved Marwar from devastation by giving Indra Kunwar in marriage to Farrukh Siyar. With the marriage of Indra Kunwar, Ajit Singh and the well-known Sayyid brothers came in close contact with each other. The marriage bridged the gulf between the Rathors and the Mughals for some time. Hereafter, ushered in an era of peace and prosperity in Marwar. As a result thereof Ajit Singh was able to recover the lost possessions of the State of Marwar within a short time of Indra Kunwar's marriage. Hence, his ungraceful action in purchasing peace by giving his daughter in marriage to the Mughal Emperor cannot be wholly condemned. It can, however, be criticised on sentimental grounds.

Ajit Singh, the Subahdar-designate of Gujrat, on his way to Ahmeda-

1. *Roznamcha*, f. 77 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 447; Irvine, I, p. 304.
2. Shiv Das, f. 4 (b).
3. *Roznamcha*, ff. 77-79 ; Shiv Das, f. 4 (b) & 5 (a) ; *Siyar-ul-Mutakherine*, I, p. 399 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 164-65; Irvine, I, pp. 303-305.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat* (vol. II, p. 165) informs us that Farrukh Siyar had permitted the Rathor Sardars present there to practise Rajput customs and traditions while Mirza Mohammed clearly writes that the marriage was performed according to the Muslim Law (*Roznamchah*, f. 78). See details of various ceremonies in Appendix VI.

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bad, passed through Bhinmall and Jalor. Then the two former possessions of Marwar were now captured and added to his dominions by the Maharaja.[1] Further, he deputed Pemsi, his commander at Merta, against Nagore. Rao Indra Singh was soon dispossessed of his dominions and Nagore was also annexed to Ajit's dominions on July 20, 1716.[2] Afterwards, the pargana of Nagore was confirmed as his *Jagir* by the Emperor in February, 1717.[3]

During the period immediately following the marriage of Indra Kunwar (1715-17), Ajit Singh and his son Maharajkumar Abhai Singh received additional *mansabs* and *khilats*[4] from the Mughal Emperor. At that time the Emperor was recklessly busy in gathering supporters to crush the Sayyid brothers. As such his hopes were centred in his father-in-law, Maharaja Ajit Singh. So, he sent for him. Nahar Khan, whose good offices the Maharaja had employed earlier to secure terms from Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, was deputed to escort Ajit Singh to the Court. "But Nahar Khan," writes Irvine "was an intimate friend of the two Sayyids, and his first efforts were directed to bring over Ajit Singh to their side, and detaching him from that of Farrukh-Siyar."[5] By showing extraordinary favour to Ajit Singh and his sons Farrukh Siyar tried in vain to win over the Maharaja to his side. Even the high sounding title of 'Raj Rajeshwar' and the *mansab* of 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar*[6] besides the faujdari of Bikaner[7] could not alienate Ajit Singh from the Emperor's potential enemies, the Sayyid borthers.

The short-sighted policy of Emperor Farrukh Siyar alienated his nobles from him and that provided an opportunity to Sayyid brothers

1. *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 38 ; Reu, I, p. 308 ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 39-40.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 166 ; *Ajitodaya*, Canto 23, vv. 2-13 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 40 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 841 ; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 38 ; Also see *Akhabarat*, 5th year, p. 274.
3. Firman No. 7, Archives Office, Bikaner.
4. *Akhabarat*, 5th year, p. 163, part II, pp. 194, 153, 227-28, 274, 340 ; 6th year, Part I, p. 43, 175, etc.; Irvine, I, p. 364.
5. Irvine, I, p. 348.
6. *Akhabarat*, VIIth year, dated 21st August 1718, p. 81. Irvine also mentions that the title of 'Rajeshwar' was conferred upon Maharaja Ajit Singh by Farrukh Siyar. See Irvine, I, p. 364.
7. *Roznamcha*, f. 203 ; Irvine, I, p. 351 ; Reu, I, p. 312. According to Irvine the 'country of Bikaner was conferred upon the Rajah' at the request of Wazir Qutb-ul-mulk.

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to conspire against him. He called Ajit Singh from Jodhpur to Delhi and then foolishly lost his sympathies by contriving in vain against his life.[1] Moreover another cause of Ajit Singh's losing confidence in the Emperor was that he was playing into the hands of his former friend Jai Singh who was then helping Farrukh Siyar in removing Ajit from power and prestige.[2] Therefore, the disgruntled nobles unanimously[3] voted against the Emperor's deposition.[4] Hence, the two Sayyids and their close associate Ajit Singh deposed the Emperor Farrukh Siyar.[5] The Emperor was imprisoned on 9th Rabi-ul-akhir, A.H. 1131 (10th of the bright half of Phagun, V.S. 1775 or March 1, 1718) and in his place a youth of 20 years, Rafi-ud-darjat, was placed on the throne by Sayyid Abdullah and Ajit Singh, and was proclaimed as Farrukh Siyar's successor.[6] The new Emperor, who was nothing more than a puppet in the hands of the three 'King-Makers' abolished *Jizya* at the very first audience on the request of Rajput Rajas headed by Ajit Singh. He even with-

1. *vide,* Ajit Singh's letter to *Sikdar* (magistrate) Dayaldas published in *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rathors*, pp. 115 and 117.
   Also see Maharana Sangram Singh's letter to Ajit Singh published in *Glories of Marwar*, p. 112 ; *Ajitodaya*, canto 27; vv. 3-5 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p, 17 ; Irvine, I, pp. 353-54.
2. *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Part I, p. 300 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 166 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 841.
   He was removed from the Subahdari of Gujrat because there were numerous complaints against him.
3. Irvine, I, pp. 363 & 382.
4. 'With one exception, that of Rajah Jai Singh, all the influential nobles had now been won over to the party of the Siyar's and had deserted Farrukh-Siyar'.— Irvine, I, p. 37.
5. Irvine, I, pp. 383-88.
   Maharaja Ajit Singh played an active part at the time of Farrukh Siyar's deposition. The night preceding the Emperor's deposition Ajit Singh remained in the Fort palace and his men were posted on the guard. See Irvine, I, pp. 380-81.
6. *Roznamcha*, ff. 240-246; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 172-74 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 43 ; MS. *Surajprakash*, p. 132 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 475 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 841, *vide*, Ajit Singh's letter to *Sikdar* Dayaldas published in *Glories of Marwar*, pp. 115-17.
   "The Nawab holding one hand and Ajit Singh the other they seated him straightway on the jewelled peacock throne . . . ."—Irvine, I, p. 389.

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drew all restrictions on the pilgrimage of Hindus to Holy places.[1] In the words of Maharaja Ajit Singh himself 'the success achieved by us (Ajit) was never acquired by any Hindu before that'.[2] Farrukh Siyar was ultimately despatched from this world on April 18, 1719.[3] Thereafter, Maharaja Ajit Singh obtained permission from Emperor Rafi-ud-darjat on May 3, 1719 to return to Jodhpur and thence to Ahmedabad. At the time of his departure Ajit Singh was given a robe of honour, horse with *saaz*, pearls, *sarpech*, a studded sword, a pair of elephants, etc.[4] Moreover, as a gesture of goodwill he was allowed to take his daughter Indra Kunwar, widow of Farrukh Siyar, with him to Jodhpur (July 10, 1719). She was also allowed to renounce Islam and return to Jodhpur with all her wealth.[5] "In the reign of no former Emperor had any Raja been so presumptuous as to take his daughter," writes Khafi Khan, "after she had been married to a king and admitted to the honour of Islam."[6] Thus, Ajit Singh became one of the leading Rajput Rajas of Hindustan besides being a very important grandee of the Mughal Empire during the years immediately following the assassination of Farrukh Siyar.

The unique position attained by Maharaja Ajit Singh in the Mughal Court at Delhi became the main cause of his downfall which ultimately resulted in his murder at the hands of his own son, Bakhat Singh. After the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, Jai Singh was intending to side with Chhabila Ram Nagar and the rival party of the Muslim nobles of the (Mughal) Court headed by Nizam-ul-Mulk and to give a challenge to the nominee of the Sayyids, all of them (Chhabila Ram and Nizam-ul-Mulk) placed on the Mughal throne at Agra another

1. Khafi Khan, Elliot, VII, p. 479 ; Irvine, I, p. 404. Ajit Singh's letter to *Sikdar* Dayaldas published in *Glories of Marwar*, pp. 115-17.
2. Quoted from Ajit Singh's letter addressed to *Sikdar* Dayaldas, published by Reu in *Glories of Marwar*, pp. 115-17.
3. Irvine, I, p. 392.
   Ajit Singh's letter to Dayaldas, published in *Glories of Marwar*, p. 117, gives the impression that Farrukh Siyar committed suicide. Shiv Das supports it [see *Munawwar-i-Kalam*, f. 32 (a)].
4. Ajit Singh's letter to Dayaldas, published in *Glories of Marwar*, p. 117.
   According to Irvine the Raja was permitted to return to his *watan* on 6 May 1719 (See Irvine, I, p. 408).
5. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 483 ; Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 173; Irvine, I, pp. 401 & 428-29 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 842.
6. Khafi Khan, VII, p. 483.

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descendant of Aurangzeb in the person of Nekusiyar, son of late Prince Akbar.[1] Therefore, it became necessary for the Sayyid brothers to win over Jai Singh through Ajit Singh to their side to weaken the position of their rival, Nizam-ul-Mulk. Hence, Ajit Singh was finally allowed to leave the Mughal Court on October 5, 1719.[2] The Maharaja reached Kala Dera, a place very near Amber, and met Raja Dhiraj Jai Singh on November 5, 1719.[3] In this meeting Ajit Singh was able to persuade Jai Singh to accompany him to Jodhpur via Ajmer.[4] Thus, the Sayyids were successful in distracting Jai Singh from taking active part in the politics of the Court by championing the cause of Nekusiyar.[5] The Sayyids restored to Jai Singh his *Watan Jagir*, and to pacify him, he was appointed Faujdar of Sorath in the subah of Gujrat.[6] Ajit Singh was also restored to his Subahdari of Gujrat. He was also appointed Subahdar of Ajmer in addition to Gujrat on October 22, 1719.[7] In December, 1719 of the same year the Rathor Chief was entrusted with the task of maintaining peace in

1. *Rajrupak*, p. 44 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 484 ; Irvine, I, pp. 408-13.
   During the tumult Jai Singh slipped out of Agra and retired to Toda, a place about 50 miles south of Amber. Mirza Mohammad's allegation (See *Roznamchah*, f. 240) regarding Ajit Singh's connivance in the escape of Jai Singh from Agra does not appear to be correct because Ajit Singh suspected Jai Singh among one of those who poisoned the ears of Emperor Farrukh Siyar against him. (See Ajit Singh's letter to *Sikdar* Dayaldas, *Glories of Marwar*, p. 117).
2. Kamwar, f. 369 (b).
3. *Balmukandnama*, letter No. 5.
4. ibid., letter No. 12 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 175; *Ajitodaya*, canto 28, vv. 30-33.
5. *Munawar-i-Kalam*, f. 32 (b).
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 175 ; Elliot, VII, p. 485 ; Irvine, II, p. 4.
   While Jai Singh was encamped at Sur Sagar in Jodhpur, Ajit Singh gave the hand of his daughter, Suraj Kunwar, in marriage to him. From the account of the marriage ceremonies given in *Bayav Bahi* No. 1, ff. 1-53, it is evident that Suraj Kunwar's marriage was performed in haste in consideration of some political pressure. (See Dr. G. N. Sharma's article in the *Journal of Indian History*, 1956.) Thus, it is clear that to keep Jai Singh engaged in Jodhpur, he was married to Suraj Kunwar. Further, by matrimonial relationship Ajit Singh wanted to patch up their mutual differences.
7. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, p. 22; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 175; Also see Khafi Khan, VII, p. 485 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 842 ; Reu, I, p. 318, f. n. 2.

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Hadoti (Kota and Bundi).[1] Thus, the Maharaja was given an opportunity to meddle with the affairs of another Rajput principality. He was not only Subahdar of two provinces but was one of the most powerful and important grandees of the Empire whose advice was solicited in almost every important affair of the Mughal Court during the weak reigns of Rafi-ud-darjat and his successor Rafi-ud-daullah, who was installed as the Emperor of Hindustan by the Sayyid brothers on May 27, 1719.[2] No doubt Ajit Singh attained this position during the period of 'Sayyid domination' because of the two brothers[3], yet he maintained his individuality. When Sayyid Hussain Ali was to go to the Deccan to chastise Nizam-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Abdullah repeatedly requested Ajit Singh to accompany Amir-ul-Umara Hussain Quli Khan. But just then Ajit Singh was not ready and willing to leave Rajasthan. So he stressed that Hussain Quli Khan should proceed by a direct route via Hindaun to the Deccan.[4] Despite prolonged persuations the Maharaja did not agree to comply with the wishes of his partisans. It appears Ajit Singh knew that his friendship was a political necessity for the Sayyids. The two brothers could not afford to dissatisfy the Hindus and particularly the Rajputs. Among the Rajput Rajas, Ajit Singh was the only powerful native ruler whom Sayyids could befriend. After the deposition of Farrukh Siyar, Ajit's services were utilised by the Sayyids in winning over the recalcitrant Hindu Rajas. Jai Singh had already been pacified. Then Ajit Singh was probably requested to win over Chhabila Ram. Therefore, on the eve of Sayyid Hussain Ali's march against Agra to capture the Fort there Ajit Singh wrote a letter to Chhabila Ram.[5] Thus, Ajit Singh was the main person through whom Sayyi l brothers tried to win over the sympathies and support of their contemporary leading Hindu Rajas.

Here it is necessary to say a word about Durga Das Rathor, the saviour of Ajit Singh and the Rathor dynasty of Marwar, who died

1. *Balmukandnama*, letter No. 21, dated 10 December 1719 ; Irvine, II, pp. 5-6.
2. Irvine, I, p. 420.
3. Satish Chandra, p. 179.
4. *Balmukandnama*, letter No. 12. Also see *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 175.
5. *Ajaib-ul-Afaq* by Inayatullah Kambu Lahori, ff. 56 (b) and 57 (a) [letter No. 130].

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the death of an exiled recluse near Ujjain in the year 1718.[1] By rescuing Jaswant's scion from Delhi and by inspiring his clansmen to fight for the freedom of Marwar for full thirty years against the mighty Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and by securing a *jagir* from Aurangzeb in 1696 for Ajit Singh, he earned a glorious name for himself in the annals of Marwar. However, his selfless devotion and unparalleled sacrifice could not earn from his ungrateful master the deserved appreciation. Ajit Singh did not give him in his own life-time befitting treatment. After having attained maturity he tried to avoid the presence of the Rathor hero. On more than one occasion his opinion was overruled by his young master.[2] Even then we hear the name of Durga Das as late as the year 1709 when he participated in the battle of Sambhar. Without his active support and help Ajit Singh could not have possibly recovered Marwar from Aurangzeb's successor Bahadur Shah.

Durga Das continues to figure in the official records of the Mughal Empire as late as the year 1716.[3] On several occasions Khilats were conferred upon him and his mansab was also raised.[4] But in the chronicles of Marwar his name is not mentioned after the victory of the Rajputs at Sambhar. The unique position attained by Durga Das both in Marwar and at Delhi made his fellow Sardars envious of him who poisoned the ears of their young master against his faithful servant.[5] Hence, the differences which had crept in between the two (Ajit Singh and Durga Das) as early as the year 1702 resulted in the complete rupture of their relations as a result of which Ajit Singh banished Durga Das from Marwar.[6] The action of Ajit Singh de-

1. Reu, *Rathod Durgadas*, p. 52.
2. *Vide*, *Rathod Durga Das* by Ram Ratan Halder.
3. *Vide*, *Akhabarat*, dated 3rd Rabi-ul-akhir, A.H. 1128 (16 March 1676), 5th regnal year, p. 29.
4. Jahandar Shah's firman dated 6th Rabi-ul-Akhir, A.H. 1124 (2 May 1712) records award of a mansab of 4,000 *Zat* and 3,000 *Sawar* rank together with the title of 'Rao' to Durga Das Rathor. Also see Reu, *Durgadas Rathod*, pp. 48-49.
   For award of *Khilats* to Durga Das see *Akhabarats* for the reigns of Aurangzeb, Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar. He was awarded *Khilat* for the last time on 31 October 1714 (*Vide*, Farrukh Siyar's firman dated 4th Zil-Ka'da).
5. Reu, *Rathod Durgadas*, p. 53. Also see Ojha, II, p. 604.
6. Tod, II, p. 1034.

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serves condemnation. But the tales of Durga Das's chivalry, devotion and sacrifice will continue to inspire not only the people of Marwar but every Indian. His 'narrative presents an uninterrupted record of patriotism and disinterested loyalty.'

Such an ungrateful person like Ajit Singh was bound to fall one day in the pit which he had dug for others. Therefore, after the fall of the Sayyids during the reign of Rafi-ud-daulah's successor Mohammad Shah[1], Ajit Singh also fell into his disfavour because of his close association with the two brothers. The party in power at the Mughal Court led by Nawab Shams-ud-daulah was suspicious of him. So he was not only removed from the Subahdari of Gujrat and Ajmer[2], but twice Mughal forces were sent against him, and Nagore[3], Sambhar and Didwana were taken away from him (Ajit Singh).[4] Under the circumstances, Ajit Singh was forced to sue for peace through his son-in-law Sawai Jai Singh in June, 1723.[5] As a result thereof his eldest son Abhai Singh was sent to the Imperial Court.[6]

Abhai Singh's visit to the Mughal Court proved fatal for Ajit Singh. Within a short time of his arrival at Delhi, Abhai Singh was taken into confidence by the ill-wishers of the Maharaja through his own Sardar, Bhandari Raghunath, and was successfully persuaded to get his father murdered.[7] Abhai Singh is said to have written a letter to his younger brother Bakht Singh to commit the heinous crime. The bait of the *iagir* of Nagore was dangled before him.[8] But according to a con-

1. Muhammad Shah was enthroned on 15th Zil Ka'da, A.H. 1131 (September 18, 1719).
2. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherine*, I, pp. 228-231. *Munawwar-i-Kalam*, f. 77 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 178-79 ; Also see Irvine, II, pp. 108-9. Ajit Singh was dismissed from his post in May 1721 (See Satish Chandra, p. 179, f. n. 33).
3. *Munawwar-i-Kalam*, f. 77 ; Khafi Khan, VII, p. 510; *Rajrupak*, p. 45 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 179-80; Irvine, II, pp. 108-10.
4. Irvine, II, pp. 111-12; Reu, I, p. 324.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 181. Also see *Rajrupak*, p. 47.
6. *Ajitodaya*, canto 30, vv. 66-85 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 47 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 181 ; Irvine, II, p. 114; Satish Chandra, p. 181.
7. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherine*, I, pp. 230-31; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 175 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 183 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 842 ; Tod, II, p. 1029.
8. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 183 ; *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 175 ; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 842-43 ; Tod, II, pp. 1029-30 ; Irvine, II, pp. 114-17.

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temporaryMuslim historian, Ajit Singh's illegal connection with Bakht Singh's wife prevailed upon him to end the life of his old father.[1] Anyway Ajit Singh was murdered at Jodhpur by his own son Bakht Singh in the intervening night of 23rd and 24th June 1724.[2] Thus ended the life of Raj Rajeshwar Maharaja Ajit Singh under whom Marwar reached the zenith of its power and prestige. His murder "accounted the germ of destruction, which, taking root in the social

1. Kamwar quoted by Irvine, *vide*, II, pp. 116-17.
There is a controversy regarding the cause of Ajit Singh's death. The *Jodhpur Khyat* writes that Bakht Singh, the second son of the Maharaja, put his father to death at the instigation of his elder brother. Abhai Singh, who was at the time in the capital, had been persuaded by Jai Singh of Jaipur to put an end to his father's life as he was rebellious against the Emperor Muhammad Shah and his presence would prove injurious to the interest of the Jodhpur State. It is said that Abhai Singh wrote to Bakht Singh asking him to perform the deed, p romising him in return the appanage of Nagore with all its parganas comprising five hundred villages. Another version of the incident is recorded in the pages of *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari* which says that the Wazir Qamaruddin Khan had instigated Bakht Singh to murder Ajit Singh and promised him the succession to the *gadi* of Jodhpur. There is yet another version of the episode which is recorded by Kamwar Khan, which says that Bakht Singh murdered his father as he suspected him to have illicit relation with his wife. All these versions are in agreement with regard to the identification of the murderer. All authorities are unanimous on the point that it was Bakht Singh who put Ajit Singh to death and the deed was performed in the night when Ajit Singh was asleep in his bedroom at Jodhpur. The first version of the story is hardly credible for the appanage of Nagore with all its parganas was to belong to Bakht Singh by right and by traditional practice of the Jodhpur ruling house. As regards the second it can be asked as to why the Wazir did not fulfil his promise of bestowing the whole of Jodhpur on Bakht Singh. Moreover, the motive of murdering his father by Bakht Singh does not seem to be sufficiently weighty as given in the first two versions. It seems, therefore, reasonable to support the historian Irvine's viewpoint. Bakht Singh must have been hit in his tenderest part of his honour. He was a youngman of 18 years of age and was not likely to control his emotions. Ajit Singh's morals were like that of an average ruler, Hindu or Muslim of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. He had eighty-four married and unmarried women in his harem and was noted for his promiscuity with regard to his relations with the fair sex. He had married a young girl only three months before his murder (*Vide*, *Jodhpur Khyat*, Vol. II, p. 192).
2. *Ajitodaya*, canto 31, vv. 32-33 ; *Rajrupak*, p. 48 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, 183 ; *Vi Vinod*, p. 842 ; Also see *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 175.

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edifice of Marwar, ultimately rent it asunder."[1] Ajit Singh's murder was the result of deep thinking and long planning of Emperor Muhammad Shah and his nobles at Delhi. After having despatched the two Sayyids who made and unmade as many as three Emperors in quick succession, it became necessary for Muhammad Shah to finish their strong partisans also whose existence was a menace to the stability and security of his own empire. The desired opportunity was provided in the ambitious nature of Abhai Singh who was more than ever eager to succeed his father at an early date. After Ajit's murder when Muhammad Shah bestowed on Abhai Singh the state of Jodhpur, Nagore was also given to him which he immediately passed on to his brother Bakht Singh.[2] The immediate transfer of such an important pargana as that of Nagore to Bakht Singh confirms the story narrated by the early chroniclers. The events show that Nagore was undoubtedly given as a price of patricide to Bakht Singh. Hence, with the murder of Ajit Singh the last thorn was routed out by the Emperor Muhammad Shah from his way.

1. Tod, II, p. 1035.
2. *Abhaivilas*, canto VII, vv. 4-33.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Marwar in the Last Days of the Mughal Age : Maharaja Abhai Singh

(1724-1749 A.D.)

AJIT SINGH'S SON Abhai Singh was recognised as his father's successor by the Emperor Muhammad Shah soon after the murder of his father.[1] Besides Jodhpur, Nagore was also given to Abhai Singh by the Mughal Emperor.[2] The title of Raj-Rajeshwar together with a mansab of 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar* was conferred upon him. On the eve of his departure Abhai Singh was awarded *Naubat* and *Nakkara*.[3]

Abhai Singh had to wage war against Indar Singh who was then the ruler of Nagore. Within a very short time Nagore was captured by him from Indar Singh. Thereafter, he gave Nagore to his younger brother Bakht Singh[4] in October, 1725. Anand Singh, captur-

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 193 ; Tod, II, p. 1035 ; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 843-44 ; Irvine, II, p. 115. Also see *Maathir-ul-Umara*, I, p. 175.
   Jodhpur Khyat informs us that Muhammad Shah personally gave *tika* of Jodhpur to Abhai Singh by putting a *tilak* on his forehead. Thus, the practice of giving *tika* was revived in the 3rd generation of Emperor Aurangzeb.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 193 ; Irvine, II, p. 115.
   Parganas of Nagore, Kekri Parbatsar, Marot, Phulia and Ghatiyali were also given to Abhai Singh. These parganas were not within the territorial jurisdiction of Ajit Singh.
3. *Abhaivilas*, canto VI, vv. 11-12 ; Tod, II, p. 1035.
4. *Abhaivilas*, canto VII, vv. 4-33 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 200-202 ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 49-50.
   According to *Vir Vinod*, Nagore was given to Bakht Singh as a price for the murder of Ajit Singh (*Vir Vinod*, pp. 843-44).

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ed Idar which was then in his *jagir*.[1]

In the year 1725, Sarbuland Khan was appointed Subahdar of Gujrat by Emperor Muhammad Shah. Abhai Singh was also ordered to assist Said Khan in subduing Hamid Khan who revolted against the Imperial authority.[2] Sarbuland Khan could not keep the province under control because the Marathas were then raiding the outskirts of Gujrat and Said Khan was obliged to buy peace by consenting to pay Chauth to them. The Emperor was poisoned against the weak administration of Sarbuland Khan by his Minister Nawab Shame-ud-daulah. Hence, Abhai Singh was appointed Subahdar of Gujrat in his place in the year 1730.[3] Muhammad Shah gave fifteen lakhs in cash, 40 guns, 200 maunds of gun powder and 100 maunds of lead[4] to Abhai Singh at the time of his departure. When the order of Sarbuland Khan's removal from the Subahdari of Gujrat reached him, he also decided to revolt against the Imperial authority. Abhai Singh came to know of his intention only when he reached Badas on his way to Gujrat. Therefore, the Maharaja despatched a letter to his Vakils on October 2, 1730, from the camp of Kalol, to inform Nawab Shams-ud-daulah Khan about the rebellion of Sarbuland.[5]

Abhai Singh succeeded in taking possession of the city of Ahmedabad from Sarbuland Khan in October, 1730.[6] But his letters of subsequent dates show that without men and money he was finding it difficult to withstand the Marathas.[7] Therefore, Abhai Singh's hearty

1. Ojha, II, p. 609.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II. ; *Bom. Gaz.*, I, part I, p. 306 ; Irvine, II, p. 185. Emperor Muhammad Shah's Firman No. 12 dated the 24 Jamad-al-Akhir, A.H. 1138 (16 Feb. 1126) shows Maharaja Abhai Singh was ordered to assist the Khan in suppressing the rebels, *vide*, original Firman in the Archives Office, Bikaner.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 213-14 ; *Rajrupak*, pp. 50-51. *Bom. Gaz.*, I, part I, p. 310 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 844 ; *Surajprakash*, p. 56 ; Irvine, II, p. 205.
4. Abhai Singh's letter to his Vakils published in *Glories and Glorious Rathors*, p. 137. According to Irvine he was given eighteen lakhs of rupees together with fifty cannons of various sizes and their complete equipment.—Irvine, II, p. 205.
5. Abhai Singh's letter published by Pt. Reu in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1944, pp. 378-80.
6. Irvine, II, pp. 206-12.
7. Abhai Singh's letter published by Pt. Reu in the *Proceedings of Historical Record Commission*, XXIV (1948), p. 110 ; *Glories and Glorious Rathors*, pp. 131, 144-53 and 169. These letters were written by Maharaja Abhai Singh to his Vakils, Bhandari Amar Singh and Purohit Vardhman.

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desire was that Fatehpur, Jhunjhunu and Jahorad be granted to him in Jagir which Jai Singh was trying to get for himself. Abhai Singh's letters to his Vakils reveal that Rajgarh, Masuda, Kharwa and Bhinai were already granted to him in *jagir* by the Mughal Emperor. But, he was not satisfied with these parganas. Therefore, in his letter of 6 April 1732 Abhai Singh once again pressed his demand for grant of an additional *jagir* in the Subah of Gujrat.[1]

Just then, as a result of the raids of Marathas[2], the whole of Gujrat was threatened with severe famine. In the words of Maharaja Abhai Singh himself, "owing to the Marathas, people of Gujrat had abandoned their homes and the trade was also paralysed."[3] Hence, Abhai Singh informed his Vakils, Bhandari Amar Singh and Purohit Vardhman, that without additional grants he would not be able to pull on in Gujrat. On the other hand, to ensure stability and security of his own government in Gujrat, he attempted to befriend the Marathas headed by Peshwa Baji Rao I. Nawab Shams-ud-daulah did not like the idea of befriending Baji Rao I. Therefore, he tried his best to deprive the Peshwa of Imperial favour. Hence, all attempts of Abhai Singh to win over the Peshwa completely failed and the hostilities were once again renewed.[4]

Abhai Singh, marched against Pilaji Gaekwar, killed him in open encounter[5] and captured the forts of Baroda and Jambusar. Abhai Singh's letter of March 26, 1732 reveals that at the time of his appointment as Subahdar of Gujrat he was promised many things, which were subsequently not granted to him.[6]

1. Abhai Singh's letter dated 10 November 1730, published in *Glories and Glorious Rathors*, pp. 144-53.
2. Abhai Singh's letter published in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1939, pp. 1112-15.
3. Another letter of Abhai Singh dated 10 November 1730. Published by Pt. Reu in *Proceedings of Historical Record Commission*, VIII, p. 27.
4. Maharaja's letter dated 10 April 1730, addressed to his Vakils shows that by giving assurance on behalf of the Mughal Emperor to Baji Rao he was trying to keep him away.—*Glories and Glorious Rathors*, pp. 1546-7. Also see Irvine, II, pp. 275-81.
5. *Bom. Gaz.*, I, part I, p. 313 ; *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 139-40 ; Ojha, II, p. 624.
6. Abhai Singh's letter dated 26 March 1732, published in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1936, p. 301.
   Abhai Singh's letter dated 27 July 1732, published in the *Glories and Glorious Rathors*, pp. 174-75.

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The last known letter of Maharaja Abhai Singh reveals that despite repeated requests for grant of additional *jagir*, his requests were not acceded to by the Emperor. Therefore, he left Bhandari Ratan Singh as his deputy in Gujrat at the head of 17,000 men, and himself returned to Jodhpur, in the beginning of the calendar year 1733.[1]

Then, he had to proceed against Maharaja Sujan Singh of Bikaner to settle boundary dispute between him and his younger brother Bakht Singh. Thereupon, Sujan Singh was forced to sue for peace in February, 1734.[2]

Thereafter, Maharaja Abhai Singh went towards Ajmer and Sambhar alongwith Shams-ud-daulah to fight Malhar Rao in the year 1733-34.[3] The Marathas headed by the said Malhar Rao and Kantaji invaded Marwar in retaliation in the year 1736.[4]

In the year 1737, Abhai Singh was removed from the Subahdari of Gujrat by Muhammad Shah and Momin Khan was appointed in his place.[5]

In February 1739, Muhammad Shah was in great difficulty because just then Nadir Shah invaded Hindustan. "After Nadir's invasion, the Government grew weaker and weaker and matters drifted as before."[6] "The invasion of Nadir Shah robbed the Mughal Emperor of the last shred of prestige and proved him to be a hollow phantom of power."[7] Thus, the weak position of Muhammad Shah at Delhi gave a long rope to Jai Singh and Abhai Singh to play dominant part in the politics of Rajasthan. Taking advantage of the confusion in the Mughal Court Abhai Singh invaded Bikaner in 1741. Jai Singh immediately marched against Jodhpur at the head of his 20,000 men with the object of distracting Abhai Singh

1. Abhai Singh's letter dated 1 May 1732, published in *Glories of Marwar and Glorious Rathors*, pp. 176-77 ; *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. I, p. 315 ; *Rajputana Gaz.*, Vol. IIIA, p. 65.
   Also see Ojha, II, p. 629.
2. *Historical Records Commission*, XX, letter of March 3, 1734. Also see Ojha, II, p. 631.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 235 ; Reu, I, pp. 348-49 ; Ojha, II, p. 636.
4. Irvine, II, p. 281 ; Reu, I, p. 349.
5. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, pp. 195-236 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 847 ; Ojha, II, p. 643.
6. Irvine, II, p. 379.
7. Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 24.

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from Bikaner.[1] Bakht Singh, whose relations were also not cordial with his brother at that time captured Merta, which was then a part of Marwar territory under Abhai Singh.[2] But soon both the brothers were reconciled. Jai Singh also returned to Amber after having realised a huge sum of money from Jodhpur.[3] Jai Singh's return was subsequently followed by an open warfare between Amber and Jodhpur. But the struggle between the two finally ended in a truce.[4]

After the death of Sawai Jai Singh in 1743, Ajmer was invaded by Abhai Singh and after a brief skirmish with the Amber forces, the Fort of Garh Bithli was captured by the Maharaja in the year 1743.[5]

Meanwhile, Muhammad Shah tried in vain to recover from the shock of Nadir Shah's invasion. But, once again in January 1748, India was invaded by Ahmed Shah Abdali better known as Ahmad Shah Durrani. The weak Emperor at Delhi issued letters of call to duty in the name of Abhai Singh and his younger brother Bakht Singh.[6] But Abhai Singh personally did not go. Therefore, Muhammad Shah's son and successor, Ahmad Shah, appointed Bakht Singh as Subahdar of Gujrat in place of his elder brother Abhai Singh.[7] It appears Bakht Singh was appointed Subahdar of Gujrat because he fought against Ahmad Shah Durrani under the command of Muhammad Shah's son Ahmad Shah. But, by having appointed Bakht Singh as Maharaja Abhai Singh's successor in Gujrat, the Mughal Emperor created a rift in the house of Marwar. However, Abhai Singh did not live long to see his

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 236 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 848 ; Ojha, II, pp. 648-54.
2. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 238-44 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 848.
3. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 242-44 ; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 40 ; *Vir Vinod*, p. 848 ; Ojha, II, pp. 654-55.
4. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, pp. 251-53 ; Ojha, II, pp. 655-58.
5. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 258 ; *Bankidass Khyat*, p. 40 ; *Vir Vinod*, pp. 848-49 ; Reu. p. 355 ; Ojha, II, p. 660.
6. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 261 ; Reu, I, p. 356 ; Ojha, II, p. 665.
   On the eve of the battle of Manpur which was fought on the 3 March 1748, between the Mughal and Ahmad Shah Durrani. Raja Bakht Singh was deputed to occupy outposts near Sarai Badli and Wazirabad. See *Ahmad Shah Durani*, by Dr. Genda Singh, p. 59.
7. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 261 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II, pp. 37-39 ; Reu, I, p. 356 ; Ojha, II, pp. 665-67.

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honour being tarnished in his own life-time for he died on June 19, 1749.[1]

Mughal Impact on Marwar

The Rathor State of Marwar was in the first half of the eighteenth century an extensive territory. It was bounded on the North by Bikaner, on the East by Amber and Ajmer, on the South by Sirohi and Palanpur, and on the West by Sindh and Jaisalmer. The ruler of Marwar had to play two roles. He was a vassal of the Mughal Emperor and a mansabdar in the imperial service. He was sometimes appointed not only to conduct expeditions outside his territory but also to act as a Governor of a province of the Empire, in addition to his duty as ruler of his hereditary dominions. In the latter capacity he was almost an absolute monarch and exercised nearly sovereign authority subject to the Mughal suzerainty which he had to accept without reservations. It was, however, very seldom that the Mughal Emperor interfered with the internal affairs of the Rathor Kingdom. In a special case of an emergency the Emperor did interfere, and Aurangzeb's action against Marwar after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh was one such instance. In normal circumstances, however, the Maharaja's authority over his subjects was supreme. The people looked upon him as of semi-divine origin.[2] In fact, the traditional view of a Hindu king had come down from ancient times. The Maharaja's semi-divine pretentions were supported by his titles such as *Bhanu Tej Swarupam Mahi Madhyast Rajat*, i.e., one who shines with the glamour of the sun over the land.[3] He adopted Raven as the insignia on his flag. He was looked upon by his subjects as the protector of Brahmins and cows.

The State was divided into the *khalsa* and *jagir* lands. The *khalsa* land was under the direct Administration of the Maharaja, while the *jagir* lands belonged to hereditary Thakurs or Thikanadars.

1. *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 163 ; Ojha, II, p. 670 ; Reu, I, p. 357.
2. *vide*, Arzi files, 1778-1809. Dastri records, Jodhpur.
3. *vide*, Letter of Maharaja Ajit Singh dated 11 dark half of Jaishta, 1775 v.s. and latters of his son and successor, Abhai Singh, published in the *Glories of Marwar*.

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These were expected to pay regular tributes and to assist the Maharaja with their contingents in times of war. The Jagirdars were to attend the Maharaja's Darbar on ceremonial occasions, and sometimes they were entrusted with civil duties. There were instances of powerful Thikanadars revolting against the Maharaja's authority and the latter conducting punitive expeditions against them. Sometimes the Maharaja posted a contingent of troops at the headquarters of a recalcitrant jagirdar to keep watch over his activities and to bring him round by sheer military pressure.[1] Nevertheless a powerful vassal chief sometimes succeeded in declaring himself independent of the Maharaja. Duda of Merta did so successfully.

In Marwar there was no definite law of primogeniture and the eldest son of the ruler did not always succeed his father. In many cases a ruler passed over the claim of his eldest son in favour of a more favourite younger one.[2] Udai Singh and Chandrasen who claimed the right of succession provided an opportunity to Akbar to interfere in the internal affairs of Marwar. By the end of the year 1580, Akbar's suzerainty over Jodhpur was completely established and the State was officially mentioned as a Sarkar of the Mughal Subha of Ajmer.[3]

An early impact of Marwar's contact with the Mughals was on administration. As the Maharaja had to spend a good deal of his time in the service of the Mughal Emperor, he became an absentee ruler as far as his own hereditary territories were concerned, and administration passed into the hands of his deputy, known officially as *Pradhan*. Secondly, Marwar gradually adopted some elements of the Mughal system of administration.[4] The Pradhan now became known as Diwan. The Diwan, though primarily the head of the revenue and finance departments, was not altogether a civilian.

1. *vide*, *Havala Bahis*, Nos. 1 & 2, Dastri Record, Jodhpur.
2. Maldeo, Udai Singh and Raj Singh did not nominate their eldest sons as their successors.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 281.
4. The previous system was a sort of family relationship between the nobles and the Raja. This was replaced by the new one of feudel overlordship over his nobles. The pattern of the Darbar was also completely changed and a new systematic pattern was evolved and set up by Govind Das Bhatti during the reign of Sur Singh. See Reu, I, 182, f.n., 197.

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In his capacity as the Maharaja's deputy he had to undertake military duties. Bhatti Govind Das, Raj Singh Kumpawat, Maheshdas Rathor and Nensi held this office and they were required to conduct military operations. This was so because the Diwan was also the Pradhan or the deputy of the Maharaja. Accounts concerning the land revenue, other taxes and expenditures of the State had to be submitted to the Diwan and the district officers or Hakims were appointed on his recommendation. Bhatti Govind Das, an early Pradhan or Diwan, changed the names of the old territorial divisions of the State. These divisions, as mentioned in some authentic inscriptions[1], were originally called *desh* and *mandal*. These now yielded place to *garh* and *pargana* of the Mughal model. In the time of Udai Singh there were six *parganas*, while under Ajit Singh their number rose to 21.[2]

The head of the *pargana* was called Hakim (not Faujdar as in Mughal India) and his duties were the maintenance of law and order and the collection of revenue. He maintained a contingent of troops and undertook expeditions against rebels. The Hakim was required to submit to the central government an account of his collections twice every year, i.e., for the *Kharif* and *Rabi* crops at Diwali and Holi respectively.

The *parganas* were subdivided into tehsils with a *thanadar* at the head of each of them. The *thanadar* was a police and revenue officer and functioned under the direction of the Hakim. The tehsils were sub-divided into villages which had panchayats. The panchayats probably were caste panchayats for the decision of the caste disputes. It is not clear whether each village had a panchayat for the administration of the village. We have got a picture of the administration of the village, the *tehsil* and the *pargana* in the accounts of *Havala* and *Deodhi Talka Bahis* preserved in the Archives Office at Jodhpur. These *Bahis* are primarily account books, but they also give a discription of happenings in the State.[3] It may be mentioned here that there were in all parts of Marwar Bhomiyas or rent free holders of land which was granted to them or their ancestors for services rendered to the State.

1. *vide*, Kiradu inscription of v. s. 1218 and Jalore inscription of v. s. 1174.
2. *vide*, a copy of contemporary document preserved in Basta No. 103, Archives Office, Bikaner. Also see *Kaviraja Khyat*, II, p. 76.
3. *vide*, Dr. G. N. Sharma's article published in *Uttar Patrika* (1961), Agra.

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After the Pradhan or Diwan was another officer called Bakhshi. His duties seem to be practically the same as that of his namesake under Mughals. His main work was the disbursement of the salaries to civil and military officials. He was also in charge of recruitment of soldiers and of posting them at various centres. The State stables of horses and other animals were in his charge.

The third officer was Bhandari who corresponded to Khan Saman of the Mughals. He was in charge of royal household and personal servants of the Maharaja.

The military organisation of the Rathors underwent a great change after Jodhpur came into close contact with the Mughals. Leaving aside the commanders and some favoured troops who rode on horses, the common soldiers of Marwar were camel riders or foot-soldiers. Their chief weapons were swords, daggers, javelines and lances. This is clear from the sculptured art preserved in the Sumer Museum, Jodhpur. But from the time of Mota Raja the Rathors began to have cavalry regiments in addition to camelry and they made extensive use of muskets and artillery. In fact, cavalry became the most important branch of the Rathor army. The light artillery pieces preserved in the fort of Jodhpur and brought from the Deccan in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeg show the kind of muskets that the Rajputs used while serving in the Mughal army. Prominent chiefs rode on elephants who were well-equipped with defensive armour.

Marwar had a few first-rate forts among which prominent ones were the forts of Jodhpur, Siwana, Jalor, Merta and Nagore. They were well-defended with guns and each was in charge of a Qiladar. In Marwar as well as in other parts of Rajasthan well-defended forts played a very important part in defensive warfare. Great care was consequently bestowed on keeping them in proper defensive order and on stocking them with provisions for men and beasts alike. It is not possible here to dilate over the role that Marwar fortresses played in defence of her liberty, but an acquaintance with the history of sieges in this part of the country will show how important the forts were in the life of the people of Rajasthan in general and of Marwar in particular.

The Rathor army was organised on feudal lines. There must have been some kind of officers in the army, but on account of paucity of material it is not possible to form any definite opinion. The Maha-

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raja had his Thakurs who had their own contingents of troops belonging mostly to their own clans. There were sub-Thakurs under them and those too held land either directly from the Maharaja or indirectly through the first-rate Thakurs or Thikanadars. These sub-Thakurs too had their own troops recruited and maintained by themselves. All these came to serve under the Maharaja in times of need. There was no regimental discipline or military training in those days and there was little difference between soldiers and the average citizen who too was required to defend himself in times of need and was consequently familiar with weapons of defence.

The Mughal impact on dress, manners and court etiquette is clear from the centemporary paintings. Mota Raja Udai Singh is shown in a painting in long robes, tight trousers and a turban which was a compromise between Mughal and Rajasthani styles. Obviously this must have been borrowed from Agra and Delhi. The various articles of decoration such as *sarpech*, *turra*, etc. that were bestowed by Mughal Emperors became part and parcel of the dress of the Maharaja and his sons. Similarly the Mughal court etiquette greatly influenced that of the Rathors. Details are not available, but the Mughal influence is clearly discernible in the manners in which Thakurs had to conduct themselves at the Maharaja's Darbar.

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Appendix I

THE COMPARATIVE CHART OF THE RULERS WHO RULED OVER MARWAR FROM A. D. 1309 TO 1383

Genealogy of the Rulers as given in various *Khyats*.

Bahi	*Nensi Khyat*	*Jodhpur Khyat*	*Dayaldas Khyat*	*Bankidas Khyat*
1. Raipal	Raipal	Raipal	Raipal	Raipal
2. Kanha	Kanha	Kanha	Kanha	Kanha
3. Jalansi	Jalan	Jalansi	Jalansi	Jalansi
4. Chhada	Chhada	Chhada	Chhada	Chhada
5. Tida	Tida	Tida	Tida	Tida
6. Kanharde	Kanharde	Salkhe	Kanharde	Salkha
7. Mallinath	Tribhuvansi	Biram	Mallinath	Mallinath
8. Salkha	Salkha	—	Biram	Biram
9. Biram	Mallinath	—	—	—
	Biram			

The genealogy of the *Khyats* has been accepted, with slight variations by all modern historians of Marwar.

Tod	*Shyamaldas (Vir Vinod)*	*G.H. Ojha*	*Ramkaran Asopa*	*B. N. Reu*
1 Raipal	Raipal	Raipal	Raipal	Raipal
2. Kanpal (Kanha)	Kanha	Kanpal	Kanpal	Kanpal
3. Jalhan	Jalansi	Jalan	Jalansi	Jalansi
4. Chhada	Chhada	Chhada	Chhada	Chhada
5. Tida	Tida	Tida	Tida	Tida
6. Salkha	Salkha	Kenharde	Salkha	Salkha
7. Biramdeo	Biram	Tribhuvansi	Mallinath	Biram
8. —	—	Salkha	Biram	—
9. —	—	Mallinath	—	—
10. —	—	Biram	—	—

Thus, according to the chronicles of Marwar, as many as nine generations ruled for only 74 years. The dates given in the *Khyats* are 'demonstrably inaccurate'.

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Appendix II

ACCORDING TO PANCHOLY MS. FOLLOWING SARDARS WERE DEPUTED UNDER THE COMMAND OF JASWANT SINGH BY THE EMPEROR SHAH JAHAN (ff. 6A-12A)

ff. 6 (a) श्री महाराजा जी री ताबीन इतरो साथ विदा कियो असवार

२३२४४ मुनसबदार आसमी २६६ बरकांदाज असवार १००० तिण री विगत

१८५३५ जाबत चौथाई असवार राखै आसमी ११२ त्यां में असवार अठारह हजार पंच सौ पैंतीस कलमी

२६१४ जाबते पंच मंहे सै वीणरा कलमी असवार १४५७ आसमी १५२

८ आसमी २ जाबता थी आधो आधक कलमी असवारी ६००

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२२२४७

१००० बरकांदाज अल्हादा ।

(b) आसामी

१२५० राजा रायसिंह भींवोत सीसोदिया जात पंच हजारी पांच हजार असवार नवाब मौहबत खान रे एवज

३६ गौड़ उदैभाण जात च्यार सदी दोय से असवार

२६ गाँड़ हरीभाण जात तीन सदी सौ असवार

१५ मीर इसमाइल जात तीन सदी साठ असवार

५ लाहोरी गोरी सा रो बेटो

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१२५१ मलूजी दीखणी जात पांच हजारी पंच हजार असवार

१२०८ इफतरखारबं बगेरे आसमी २

११५१ इफतखार्खन अबदलअजख मीरो भतीज तीन हजारी तीन हजार असवार

ff. 7 (a) ५७ अवल मकार म इफत खार खन रो बेटो जात तीन सदी दोय सौ असवार

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६५२ नवसेरी खन वगैरै आसामी २
६२६ नवसेरीखं खनदोरां रो बेटो
तीन हजारी तीन हजार असवार
२६ खोजो अइब व्यार सती सौ असवार

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५५२ हाडा मुकंद सिंघ वगैरे आसामी ४
५०१ हाडो मुकंद सिंघ माधो सिंघ रो
जात तीन हजारी दुय हजार असवार
२६ हाडो झुझार सिंघ जात च्यार सदी सों असवार
१६ हाडो कन्ही राम तीन सदी साठ असवार
९ हाडो फतेसिंह दु॥ सदी चालीस असवार
(b) २५१ परसुजी दीखणी तीन हजारी हजार असवार
१३१४ बुंदेला आसामी ७ राजा सुजाण सिंघ बगैरै
११२६ राजा सुजाण सिंह अठाई हजारी हजार असवार
तींण मा दुज हजार सेसपा पंच सो
१०१ इन्द्रमीण सुजाण सिंह रो भाई
पंच सदी पाँच सौ असवार

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२६ जगदेव नरहरदास रो राजा वरसिंघ दे
रो पोतो च्यार सदी सौ असवार
१ गोड हीरामणि कृपा राम गोड रे काका रो
बेटो दुय सदी चालीस असवार
१० गोड परसराम एक सदी पैंतीस हजार
२६ बुंदेला चतुरंग चन्द्रमण रो दोइ सदी सौ असवार
१४ प्रबत सिंघ चन्द्रमण रो दोढ सदी पचास असवार

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१३१४

ff. 8 (a) ६९१ राजा सिवरंम वगैरै आसामी ३
६२६ राजा सिवरंम अढाई हजारी
अढाई हजार असवार
३९ गोड सदारंम च्यार सदी
दोढ सौ असवार

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२६ गोड सुरज मल-सिवराम रो
बेटो तीन सदी सौ असवार

६९१

३८७ कुतब खंन बगैरै आसामी ४३
२५३ सैद सर खंन वगैरै आसंमी ५
२५१ सीसोदियो सबल सिंघ बधावत दोड हजारी
४२२ अबदुला खंन ऐदल खन रो बेटो
दोइ हजारी
६३१ राजा देवीसिंह बुंदेलो
६२६ राजा देवी सिंह भारथसाह रो
दोइ हजारी दोइ हजार असवार
५ गजसिंघ देवी सिंघ रो जवांई

६३१

(b) ५१० रा। रतन महेशदासोत आसामी २
५०१ रा। रतन दोइ हजारी दोइ हजार असवार
९ रा। फतैसिंह महैसदासोत अढाई सदी

५१०

३९६ अरजंन गौड वगैरै आसामी २
३७६ गोड अरजंन वीठल दासोत
दोइ हजरी दोढ हजार असवार
१६ गोड सुरसिंह दोइ सदी तीस असवार

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२९० चन्द्रावत अमर सिंह बगैरे आसंमी ३
२५१ राव अमर सिंह हरी सिंघोत
दोइ हजारी हजार असवार
२६ चन्द्रावत सुजंण सिंह वीठल दासोत
तीन सदी सो असवार
१३ बिल्याण सिंघ वीठल दासोत
दोइ सदी पैंतालीस असवार

२९०

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३३४ सिसोदिया सुजाण सिंघ वगैरै वेटां सुधो

ff. 9 (a) २५१ सुजाण सिंघ सुरजमलोत दोइ हजारी
हजार असवार

५१ फतैसिंघ सुजाणसिंघोत पंच सदी

२१ दौलत सिंघ सुजंग सिंघोत तीन सदी

११ रंम चंद सुजंण सिंघोत

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३३४

२२७ मुकलसखन वगेरे आसंमी २ चकतो

३७२ राजा अमर सिंघ कछवाहो नर वर रो धंणी

३११ राजा अमरसिंह दोढ हजारी
हजार असवार

६१ जगत सिंह अमरसिंघोत दोइ सदी साठ
असवार

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१६८ सेद मुदंफर खंन सुजाईतखंन रो बेटो
दोढ हजारी आठ सै असवार

२७७ सेद मेहमंम वैग च्यंद वेग तीन हजारी

६०१ रावल समरसी वंरुवाला रो जमीदार
हजारी हजार असवार दोय सो दो सपा
आठ सो वारावरदी जंमीदार आधा राखे

(d) १४१ खोजो इनाहतुलो अबदुलाखंन रो जवांई
हजारी जात सात सौ असवार

१५३ दौलत खंन हजारी जात छ सो असवार

१५१ चोहंण चतुर भुज लखामाण सेण रो
पोत रो हजारी जात छ सो असवार

१४० रा । महेस दास सुरजमलोत
आसामी २

१२६ रा० महेंसदास हजारी जात पंच सो असवार

१४ रा० भुभार सिंध महेस दासोत दोय
सदी पचीस असवार

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१६२ रा० गोरधंन चंदावत आसंमी ३
१२६ रा० गोरधन हजारी पंच सो असवार
२५ रा० रूप सी गोरधंनोत ब्यार सती पचास असवार
११ रा० रतन गोरधनोत दोय सदी पचीस असवार

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१६२

८१ मेहमंद हजारी पंच से असवार
ff. 10 (a) १२६ गोड भीव वितलदासोत हजारी पंच सौ असवार
२२४ झालो दयाल दास नरहरदासोत आसमी ५
१२६ दयालदास हजारी पंच सो असवार
६४ झालो राघोदास पंच सदी अढाई सौ असवार
१६ झालो इन्द्रमण तिन सदी असवार
९ जगन्नाथ नरहरदासांत तोइ सदी तीस असवार
९ उदेभण जगनाथोत दोइ सदी तीस असवार

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२२४

९७ सेद असवार वेग आसंमी २
८१ असवार वेग नव सदी ४०० सवार
१६ साह कुली असवार वेग रो

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९७

१०१ सिसोदियो सुंदरदास गोकल दासोत नवसदी प्यार सो असवार
४५७ राजा वरसिंध दे वगैरे आसामी १०
(d) २२६ वरसिंघ दे द्वारका दासोत अठ सदी आठ सो असवार दोइ सो दो सपा से सपा
३९ बीजे सिंघ द्वारका दासोत तीन सदी
६४ जैचंद दलपोत पंच सदी अढाई सो असवार
११ स्यंम चंद बलमदोत दोइ सदी चालीस असवार

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६ अभे चंद भवन चंदोत सदी पनरे असवार
७६ चो० । प्रतापसिंह ब्यार सदी तीन सौ असवार
२ चो । मुथरादास प्रतापसिंधोत
६ चो । किशन सिंध प्रताप-सिंधोत
४ चो । चन्द्रभंण बाघजी री
१० चो । प्रताप सिंध सबल सिंधोत
आसंमी ४

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४५७

ff. 11 (a) १०१ हाडो मोहण सिंध माधो सिंधोत
आठ सदी घ्यार सो असवार
६१ सेद च्यंद अरम अंठ सदी तिन सो असवार
९९ चो । बलु संबत सियोत आसंमी ४
७६ वलु सात सदी तीन सौ असवार
१६ चो । तुलछी दास बलुटो तीन सदी
साठ असवार
७ चो । नरहरदास बलुवोत दोय सदी तीस
असवार
४ चो । गोयंद दास अचल दासोत
सदी घनेरे असवार
६६ सेद कुंली सात सदी तीन सौ असवार
५१ सेकुंदीन तर बीयत खंरो सात सती दोइ सो असवार
४९ मेहमंद मुंकीम वेग साहर
६३ अवदट सुले वेग री हजारी तीन सो असवार
४६ मेहमंद सेद वेग री सदी सो असवार

(d) ४१ बाहादर वेग सत सदी
२६. रहम वेग पंच सदी
७५ सुरतंण नाजर बेरा रो आसंमी २६
५१ हाडो केसरी सिंह माधो सिंधोत
६ सदी दोइ सो असवार
३९ खोजो हसन वदी वगेरे आसंमी ४

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६२ हिलतुला बैग रो आसंमी २
६४ वरसो झाली पंच सदी अढाई सो असवार
६७ मेहमंदशरीफ वगेरे आसंमी ३
५८ रा० श्याम सिंघ वगेरे आसमी २
५१ रा० श्याम सिंघ बलुओत
पंच सदी दोइ सो असवार
७ उदेसिंह रंभ सिंघोत सदी तीस असवार

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५१ चौ । रुकमंगद प्रीथीराजोन्त
पंच सदी तोइ सो असवार
२१ अबदुलनबी खंन दोरं रो बेटो
पंच सदी सो असवार

ff. 12 (a) ३४ नाहक वेग वगेरे आसंमी ४
२५ सुआ वेग वगेरे आसंमी ४
१५ खोजा ईसहाल वगेरे
२०० रावत हरीसिंध चार सती च्यार सो असवार
जमींदार देवसिंग्रो रो आ धा जा वता रा राखे
६४ माधोसिंध चन्द्रावत वगेरे
५० माधो सिंघ चार सदी दोइ सौ असवार
१४ जगत सिंघ माधो सिंघ रो भाई

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४२ भिरक मेहमंद वगेरे
५१ रा० कल्याणदास महेसदासोत
च्यार सो असवार चार सती
५१ रा० महासिंध केशोवासोत
च्यार सदी दोइ सौ असवार
५१ कछवाहो प्रीथीसिंध झुझारसिंघोत
च्यार सती व्यार सौ असवार
३९ सौसोदियो मेम सिंध मनसिंघोत
च्यार सती दोइ सौ असवार
क २१००१ ठीक, हँमार साथ छे ईण री ईतरी आवै छे ।

Appendix III

ROUTE OF JASWANT SINGH FROM AGRA TO UJJAIN AS GIVEN IN PANCHOLY MS. [ff. 24 (A)-25 (A)]

पोस बद ७ (1714 v. s. 17th Dec. 1657 Thursday)—बाद सु विदा हुआ सु डहरे बागडे डेरो हुओ फतेहपुर सीकरी डेरो हुओ । उठा था नीवरी सराद ब्रम्दावाद सिकन्दराबाद सोरोठ री सराह हुय हीडवण श्री महाराजा जी रो डेरो हुओ—मुकाम एक कियो उठा सुं श्री ठाकुर आगंदघनजी नु व्यास नाथा नु कोतरो हेक साथ साये दे बिदा कियौ । अपरौ डेरो उजीरपुर हुओ । उठ रो डेरो सालोदेवी ने गंव माहे हुय ने उदेही रे गाँव हबीबपुर डेरो हुओ—उठा रो डेरो जीवांद मलारण रे गांव हुओ—जीवांद रो डेरो बनास ऊपर हुओ—उठारो डेरो अल्हणपुर हुवौ—तथा आगे लाखेरी माहे हुय ने श्री महाराज जी कोटे हाडा श्री मुकंदासिंध जी ले पधारिया—मुकंदसिंध बडी मेहमानी की । कोटा रो डेरो मुकांदगड हुओ । तवा आगे दधालिया माहे हुय स. १७१४ वा माह सुद १—(24th Jan. 1658 A.D., Sunday) उजेण कोस ३ कालिया दह छे तठे पधारिया ।

उठे बडा मोहल छे—बडो होद छे—तठे दिन १ मुकाम करने माह सुद १३ (6th February 1658, Saturday) उजेण पधारिया ।

ff. 24 (b) डेरो बाहिर कियो—आप शहर माहे पधारिया—एक दिन शहर मांहे रहया पछे ठोड़ बुसन की तरे डेरो पधारिया तठे नवाब सायसत खंन श्रीमहाराजा जी सु मीलण नु आयो कोट माहि था पधार ने जठे राजा बीकामादीत रो राजथान रोठोड थी तठे काल का रा थान नजीक छे तठे डेरो कियो—उठा सु. आंक पात तीरथ कोस ०१ छे उठे श्री माहाराजा जी मोहल मांडाया हुता नदी सिपराजी उपर तठे चेतु बदि १२-१०१५ वि. स. (20th March 1658, Saturday) खबर आई मुराद बगस रो खबर आई उजेण ऊपर अवे तरे चेत, बदि १३ कूच कियो—कोस ०१ नदी सीपरा छे—पेले पार पिशाच मोचन तोरथ छे—तठे डेरो कियो—उठा थी कोस ४ डेरो कियो—उठा थी मा । ताराचांद, पं० हरीदास नु. प. ॥ उजेण नुं विदा कियो—खवांस ३ छुतो सु कोट माहे राखी ।

पं० नारणदास रा । अमरा (२५a) लूणा वत नुं कोट माहे राखिया—दिन २ तथा ३ खाचरोद पधारिया—उजेण या कोस···खाचरोद छे तठे मुकाम हुआ—दशराहो श्री महाराजा जी खाचरोद हुवो—पछे उठे थकां खबर आई—मुरादबगस पिण बीजे मारग हुय औरंगजेब भेलो हुओ ने औरंगजेब नरबदा नजीक आयो—मांडव थी राजा गोड शिवराम खबर मेल्ही—तरे श्री महाराजा जी खाच-रोद थी पाछा बलिया सुदी ने·····उजेड़ या कोस ५ ।

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Appendix IV

ROUTE OF JASWANT SINGH'S RETREAT FROM UJJAIN TO JODHPUR AS GIVEN IN PANCHOLY MS. [ff. 36 (A) AND (B)]

36 (a) श्री महाराजा जी तो पीपलदे राते रहया-सी ।।

36 (b) श्री माहाराजा जी पोपलदे या इण राह इण ते रीख पधारिया—

९ पीपलदेब ।। बदि ९

१० दे बद मंदसौर नजीक मंजल कोस १५

११ दे नीमच कोस १६

१२ वे ।। बद कोस १२

१३ वे बद कपासण

१४ वे रुपजी बे ।। बद

१५ वे ।। बद कोलरंबंभणं रो

१ वे ।। सुद आवे सोभत रे

२ वे ।। सुद कारोलीग्रै बाहले

३ वे ।। सुद आखातीज सोभत रां नाहर खान मियां फरासत आया—

जोधपुर रो साथ पगे लागो

बीसलपुर जोधपुर आया

Appendix V

ROUTE OF RETREAT OF RATHORS FROM JAMRUD TO DELHI AS GIVEN IN PANCHOLY MS.

ff. 153 (b). महाराजा श्री जसवंत सिंघ जी सं० १७३५ रा पोष वदि १० 28th November 1678, Thursday) गुरु पेशोवर पूरण मत बुंदेलो री बाग में हवेली छैत है डेरा था उठे बाग मा पुहर उप्रे घड़ी ४ रे देवलोक हुआ ।

जादमजी के ४ महीने का गर्भ था और कछवाही जी के ६ महीने का गर्भ था ।

पोष वदि ११ (29 November 1678, Friday) सवारो ही उमराव कामदार मिसलत कारण बैठा—रां सूरजमल जी रा रिणछोडदास जी रां संगरामसिंह जी, चदर सेणजी, उदेसिंह जी, प्रताप सिंघजी, श्यांम सिंघ जी, वीठलदासजी ।

मोहकम सिंघ जी राउल हरीदासजी रा दुरगादासजी

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भारमलजी चनुभाण दवारकादासोत भवि गिरधरदासोत भा भवि रुघनाधोत भा सूरजमल नरहरदासोत रा महासिंघ कछवाहो नारंणदास भाषरोत रा झूझार सिंघ राजसिंघोत और ही आसांमी ४ तथा ५ थी पं० हरकिशनजी रुघनाथजी जगन्नाथजी, अलीसांन रिषणी धां उदेकरण, षाची मुकंद दास, गूजर लषमंण और ही धा मिसलत की, देश नु कासीद हलायौ—भा। रुघनाथजी नै रां रूपसिंघजी, नै, प केसरी सिंघ जी नै, लिखियो, जावता कराजो, राजपूत लोकांनु कहाड जो, धरती कोई बिगाडजो मती पातशाही लोक आवै त्यां नु अंमल देजो—बिगाडिजो मति—श्यामदास उकील गौढै कासीद हलाया। हकीकत लिखी, वलै लिखियो धौ, जोधपुर न राखै तो, सोभत जैतारण री अरज कीजो—निदांन ज्यूं बणो त्यूं कीजो—नवाब मीर खां कनै राजा रायसिंह कनै जलैबदार हलाया—काबुल नु, नै जलालाबाद नु, हकीकत सोह लिखी, राजा रायसिंघ गोमो व लाअण आप ही नायो ने उ ब राउ प्रोहत हीत पिण कोई भेजियो नहीं।

ff. 161 (a). माह वदि १३ फुरमांण १ (31st December, Tuesday) दसकत १ अटक उतरण री सांमां जाय लियो—लिषियो यो सोभत जैतारण म्हे हमार राषीया थै बरकरार नै महाराजा रै बेटा होसी हजूर आसी जठा पछै देश सरफराज करसां—घंणो उछाह हुवो—माह बदि १४ सवारो ही गुरज दरबार हजूर था आयो तिण कहो फुरमाण दस्तकत फैर मंगाया है···पीछे श्यांमदास उकील ने खबर भेजी—मीरखां के भाई के अर्ज करने पर कि मीर खां पहाड़ी में फरमान वापस मंगवा लिया।

ff. 161 (b). और राव श्री इनुसिंघजी रामसिंघोत रै वकील राजा मानसिंघ रै उकील रां रायसिंघ रतनोत रे उकील, इणां तीनां रै अरज पहुचाइज जोधपुर पांवां—तरै श्री पातशाहजी फरमायौ थै आज मत करो—जोधपुर में महाराज रो बेटो होसी तिण नुं देसां। ये मोहंम माजस मत करो।

श्री पातशाह जी नवाब सिरबलंद खां नु फरमायौ अैक फुरमांण देश मां इणां रै अमाल छै तिण नुं भेजो—एक उमरावां नुं, भेजौ एक जालौर रा फौजदार नुं भेजो—तिण मां लिखौ—जिण भांत महाराजा थकां ज्जिमत करता जावता करता नु करजो-

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म्हारी तरफ था थैहीज छो—तरै पुरमाण १ भा. रुघनाथ जी रा रूपसिंघजी वगैरे गयो—फुरमांण १ तियां फरासत नुं गयो—तीन फुरमान गया—घंणी महरबानभी फुरमाई—

मैंझ षोंनो हवालै धो—तिण अरज की महाराजा रै जोधपुर गढ उप्रै रुपिया खजानो किरोड ५७,०००,०००) छै—हमेशा मोटा राजा मूं ले नौ अगस्त आगला है—ने रु १०००) गढ रोज चढ़ता तिण उपरे पातशाहजी फुरमायो सैद अबदुल्ला नु असवार २०० था विदा कियो—कोटवाल किलेदार काजी सोह विदा करौ बेलदार साथै दो - जालौर गढ रौ किलो म्हांनु सोपो—ताला संचो गढ उप्रे छै—उतार ने म्हानु सौपौ—ने जाय नै जवत करौ—तरै माह वदि ७ सैद अबदुल्ला कोटवाल रहीम खां किरोडी कासमखां जी हामंद सोह विदा हुवा ।

ff. 162 (a). पातशाह जी बडा उमरावां दिसा फुरमायो म्हे मुनसब देसां वुकील नु पिण फुरमायो तू मनसब लै—केसरी सिंघ फरासत नु पिण देसां—

तरै अरज पहुचाई—हजरत महांनु फुरमायो सु म्हे हजरत रो ही पांवां छां हजरत महाराजा रै फरजंद होसी तिण नु देसी—तिण मां सु सैर काजरी महानु ही देसी—ने हजरत फुरमांसी तठै षिजमत करसां—तरै पातशाह राजी हुवो ।

ff. 162 (b). संगराम सिंह जी के समझाने पर नवाब मीर खाँ ने अटक उतरने के फुरमान पर दस्तकत किया—उन्होंने नवाब से भेंट नीवाजबेग के फौजदार के जरिए की थी ।

श्री जी देवलोक हुवाँ पछै·····कारषानें मोहर छाप हुई, घोड़ा रें छाप हुई, ने चहरा लिया, ऊंट नांवे मांडिया—बीजी मतां नांवे माँडी ।

माह सुदि १३ भामै (14th January 1679, Tuesday) वांस लै घड़ी ४ दिन थकां कूचरो मुहरत थी, मूं पहलां डेरों कोस ११ उप्रै कराया था—पछै खबर हुई नवाब कुड़क भेज सी, तेरे डेरा उरा अणाँक ने, चीगाण मां डेरा किया—माह सुदि १४ 15th January 1679, Wednesday) मुकाम हुआ — माह सुदी १५ गुरू, (16th January 1679, Thursday) अरोग णे बहु जी कुच कियों—उमराव लोक सोह साथ—षान दोनों री

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सराही डरा कोस ५—रा दुरगदास प हरा किशान वांसौ रहा—पे शौर कीतरा का कारषाखाना धोड़ां मौहर थाप न हुई थी, तुमार, न हुवाँ थी, सुकराम ने आसी—श्री जी रै चौतरे भेजग हमरत नूँ राषियाँ छें।

सं० १७३५ रा-फागुन वदी ७ शुक्र (17th January. 1679, Friday) नवंसरे डेरा कोस ६ री मजल—फागुन वदी २ शन्य (18th January 1679)

आँकोड़े डेरा कोस ७ मजल का—फा वदि ३ रवि (19th Jan. 1679, Sunday) अटक उतरिया कोस ७ री मीजल—पहले दिन अटक रें दरोगे तुरत बैठा कंनै नांवा रै वास्ते पं० जैकरणं मुं मेलियों थो सो ओ जायनी कुहीक ऊणा थां लेकर बोलियाँ—तरै उण नांवाँ थोड़ी छोड़ी पछै घाटा उप्रै आया ने भीड़ हुई तरै, रा सगराम सिंह जी, पं० आणद रूप नां वे वेष पार जाई नवां छोड़ाई सोह लै आया, तेरे कटक उतरीयों कुहीक साथ रहों सु, फागुण वदी ४ सोम (21st January 1679, Tuesday) मुकाम हुवौ—अटक रौ फौजदार तुरतक वैग आयौ थो—गोडों वलाया—

ff. 163 (b) घड़ी एक बैठो—फागण वदि ५ योम मुकाम देश नूं, उवरावें, कामदारें सौहणी जगीदास अबदार अखा—नुं हलाया कहाँ, लड़ाई होड़ मत भेजयों ने पातशाह जी फासला कर जौ—फागुन वदि ५ बुद्ध दुतीक (22nd January 1679, Wednesday) — मुकाम मेह हुवों—फा० वदि ७ बृहस्पतिवार (24th January 1679, Friday) मुकाम मेह हुवो—फा० वदि छसनी (25th Jan. 1679, Saturday) मीगरां रे नाले सराह डेरा कोस ४ मजल फागण बदि ६ रविवार 26th January, 1679, Sunday) मन अवदाल डेरा कोस ५ देश थां खारी राधौ आयो हजूर था श्री जी री खबर लैगो थो, सु देश री हकीकत कही—(165 b)—फागुन वदि १० सोम 27th January 1679, Monday) खरबूजा री सराह डेरा कोस ७ री मीजल कालो पानी लांघ फा० वदि ११ माम 28th January 1679, Tuesday) —मुकाम निवाज वगैरै पालखीनु कहार था सु उणां कुहक मूंडा बोलियौ—तरै निवाज वैग रीसाय नै कालैमानी रहौ—तरै फागुण वदि १२ बुध (29th January 1679, Wednesday) ही मुकाम कियो, फा

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वदि १३ गुरु (30th January 1679, Thursday) रावलपिंड़ी डैरा कोस ७ री मीज़ल (166 a) वदि चौदह तूटी—फागुन वदि मुक्र (31st January 1679, Friday) रेवात री सराह डेरा कोस ७ मजल फा सुदी १ सनी २ रवि गयड़ रें तालाब डेरौ कोस ८ मजल उठै रा सूरज मल जी वगैरै फुरमाण आयौ न मीर खाँ अठै पाछौ भेजयौ—आगे फुरमाण माँ लिखियो थौ सुहजि लिखियो थो दिलासा लिखी थी—फागण सुदि ३ सोम रोहतास गढ 3rd February 1679, Monday) डेरा कोस ६ मजल उठै रा दुरगदास पं० रघुनाथ आया फा० सुदी ४ मौम मुकाम हुवौ 4th February 1679, Tuesday) फा० सुदि ५ बुद्ध (5th February 1679, Wednesday) ही मुकाम हुवौ—फागण सुदी ६ गुरू (6th February 1679, Thursday) नदी बहत डेरा उकियार कोस ६—फा० सुदि ७ शुक्र (7th February 1679. Friday) खारिया री सराह डेरा किया कोस १ उरै मीजल कोस ७ री—सुदि ८ शनि (8th February 1679, Saturday) मे मुकाम हुवौ, मेह हुवौ फा० सुदि ९ रवि (9th February) 1679, Sunday) जमि नै दौला री गुजरात डेरा कोस १० मजल फा० सुदि १० सौम (10th February, 1679, Monday) मुकाम फा० सुदि ११ जौम (11th February 1679, Tuesday) नदी चैहनाव उतर, उजीराबाद डेरा कोस ५ फा सुदि १२ बुद्ध (12th February 1679, Wednesday) तलौडी डेरा कोस फा० सुदि १३ गुरू (13th February 1679, Thursday) अमनाबाद डेरा कोस १० फा सुदि० ,४ शुक्र नवी री सराह डेरा – होली थी उण दिन सु कीणेक सासत्र किया कोस ९ मजल फा सुदि १५ सनी (15th February 1679, Saturday) नदी रावी उतर ने लाहौर डेरा हवेली कोस ८ मजिल—महा कासी द ने आकर जोधपुर के सपाचार सुनाए।

ff. 168 (a) चै वदि १ रवि (16th February 1679, Sunday) लाहौर हेवेली गोठे हुवो—बहुजी श्री ने कछवाही जी ने पीड़ लागी तिड़ वासते वांसली घड़ी ७ रात। थी तरे बहुंजी श्री जादमनी रे बेटो जाम्मे सत मासियों, सु ओसी नासो थी—श्री महाराजा थकां सं० १७३५ मा वदि ९ गुरु पेशोर

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(1st August 1679, Thursday) मां मारी ली थी—नै कहो थो दूं जादम रै पेट आइस, मी ताब सूं आईस—पोथी-भभूत रो गोटो, माला, कोठार सौंपी थी। कहो थे मांग लेइस—मुसार मास रो जाम्ये सू उपे सनफसी अक्ल पंथ सूं आफे थे—नांव रिघ-सिंघ तूं जा मारवाड़ रो हाजा हूई। नै ज० स रै वंश न छै, सु० उणेरे पेट ऐतार ले—सु हुवो, नै घड़ी १ पल ४० पछे बहुजी श्री कछवाई जी रे बेटों हुवो—जनम पत्री एक छै—कुहीक लगन मां फेर छै—बेटां हुवा बधाई बटी—घणों उछाह हुवो—नौबत बाजी—अबराव सोह दरबार आया था जनमं हुवां रो इतरो लाग छै सो सु तरे किछौ (१६८) चैत वदि १३ शुक्र (28th February 1679, Friday) दशोटण हुवो जलूस हुवो—नौवत बजी—उमराव सको दौढ़ी दरबार आया था—उण दिन कूच रो मुहूरत थे—तरे कसली घड़ी ७ और छ ८ दिन थो तरे उठा था कूं किये। सुड़ती बाग कने कोस ।। उप्रं डेरा हुवा—चैत वदि १४ संन्य (1st March 1679, Saturday) सन्य मुकाम हुवो दशोटण रो भुजाई हुई—साथ सेह जीमियों चैत विद (2nd March, Sunday) सन्य मुकाम छुवों चैत सुदि १ सोम (3rd March Monday) मुकाम हुवें चै सुदि २ योम कूच (5th March, Wednesday) यमेम कूच राजारे तलाब डेरा कोस ६ मजल चैत सुदि ३ व ४ भैला नूरदी कुपैरी सराह डेरा कोस ६ मजल चैत सुदि ५ गुरु (6th March, Thursday) फतियाबाद री माह डेरा कोस ६ चैत सुदि ६ शुक्र नदी (7th March, Friday) गोमंदवाला नै सुरताणपुर डेर कोस ६ चैत सुदि ७ सन्य (8th March, Saturday) पुकारवणां दिखणी री सराह डेर कोस ८ चैत सुदि (9th March Sunday) नूरमोहला री सराय डेरा कोस ७ चैत सुदि ६ सौम (10th March 1679, Monday) मुकाम दशारावो हुवो—श्री महाराज्य बोरे पधारण रो मुहरत थो सू जलूस हुवो पहर १ उमर घड़ी जरे अंमल मैं बोरे पधारिया—घड़ी २ बिराजिया—दरबार हुवो—उमराव सको आया था—निवाज बैग अजमेरी आया था—नौबत बाजी—साथ सको पगे लागा।

चैत सुदि १० भौम (11th March 1679, Thursday)

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फीलौर री सराह डेरा कोस ८ चैत सुदि ११ बुध 12th March 1679, Wednesday) नदी सतंज (सतलज) उतर ने गांव लाघांणे डेरा कोस ५ री मीजल हस्ब लुक्म पातशाह जी रो आयो चैत सुदि ३ रो सिषियो—तिण मां लिखियो थो महाराजा रा बेटा हुवा सो मालुम हुवा—बडी बात हुई—हमे, म्हे अजमेर था दिली आवां छां—नै, थै, उठी था सिताव आइजो—पछे इणां रा नांव सरफराज करसां—नै मुलक दे विदा करसां—चैत सुदि १२ गुरु (13th March 1679, Thursday) दुराहे री सराह डेरा कोस ८ उठे था मिर्जा अजमेरी पचतशाही चाकर थो, सु हुकंम थो, सु. सीहनंद था निवाज बैग सूरजमल नुं लेने, आगे आवतसी, नै तूं मोहल ने लेने बेगो आये····· चैत सुदि १३ शुक्र (14th March 1679, Friday) षानौर री सराह डेरा कोस ७—चैत सुदि १ नी सीहनद डेरा, नवलषो बाग कने कोस ७ मीजल...चैत सुदि १४ रवि अलुंणारी सराय डेरा कोस ६—चैत सदि १५ (16th March, 1679) मुकाम हस्बुलहुक्म आयो, लिखियो महाराजा रे जन्म री २०० मोहर स्याम दास ली—लाहौर रे सूबायत कांमदीणां पातशाह जी चुगली लिषी थी—रजपूत लूट करता आवै छै—हूं तो म्हारो जीव इकतार कर बैठो छूं·····बेटो महाराजा रे हुवो नहीं—इणा फतवो उठायो छै·····ने पछे निवाज बैग री अरजदास आई सु बांची—तिण मे घणी सुपारस लिषी थी—ऐ बंदा छै हुक्म छै तिण मांत आवै छै—तरै फुरमायो कामदीणां इण भात चुगली लिषी थी, सु ओ दगाबाज छै। इण नुं दूर करो—लाहौर था दूर कियो—बैशाख वद १ मामे (18th March 1679, Tuesday) राजा री सराय डेरा कोस ३ — बैशाख बदि २ बुध (19th March, Wednesday) मुगल री सराय डेरा कोस ४—वे वदि ३ गुरु (20th March 1679, Thursday) आवां ले डेरा कोस ३—देश था रबारी सुरतंण आयो—हकीकत सो लिषी—वे बदि ४ शुक्र (21st March 1679, Friday) शाहबाद डेरा कोस १०—चैत बदि ५ शन्य (22nd March 1679, Saturday) कुरखेत थनेसर डेरा कोस ८—वे यदि ६

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(23rd March 1679) डेरा कोस ७—वै वदि ८ सोम (24th March 1679) करनाल डेरा कोस ७—वैवदि ८ योम (25th March 1679) छंडदे डेरा कोस ७—वे वदि ९ वुद्ध (26th March 1679) पाणी पंथाडें डेरा कोस ८ वे वदि १० गुरु (27th March 1679) संभाल के डेरा कोस ८ वे बदि ११ शुक्र (28th March 1679) सुनपात डेरा कोस १२ देश था जलेवदार आया। श्री महाराजा बारै पधारिया था—घड़ी १ बैठा उमरवा आया निवाज वेग नूं विदा कियों (१७०९) वे वदि १२ तूरी १३ शन्य (29th March 1679) नालरे डोर कांस ७ वे बदि १४ (30 March 1679) झील पै डेरा कोस ३ नी वाज वेग हासम्मे वद मुकाम हुवो वे सुद १ योम 1st April 1679) बत्त बादली उपरे कोस १ येरा मजल कोस १।। री श्री पातशाह जी अजमेरा था पधारिया खबर थी बादली आवसी तीण बादली डेरा न किया। पछै पातशाह जी रा डेरा बादली न हुवा।

ff. 172 (b). बैसाख सुद ४ मु० (4th April, Friday) बादली उपरे कोस १ रा संगरामसिंह जी रा प्रतापसिंह जी रां सामसिंह जी रा दुरगदास जी रा झरमल जी प० रुघनाथ सको साथ न·····राव सिरवलंद णां रे गया था मोहन १ सं० ९ रुघनाथ नजर किया हकीकत पूछी दिलासा की असदणं था वैसाद सुद ५ सन्य घड़ी दिन १८ (5th April 1679, Saturday) चढ़ता बहु जी श्री जादंम जी माहिज हवाबाद री हवेली में दाषल हुवा।

Appendix VI

SUMMARY OF BAI INDRA KUNWAR'S MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AS DEDUCED FROM MUNAWAR-I-KALAM, ROZNAMCHAH, SIYAR-UL-MUTAKHERIN AND JODHPUR RAJYA-KI-KHYAT

SHAISTA KHAN was sent by Hussain Quli Khan to bring Indra Kunwar from Jodhpur on May 15, 1715. She arrived at Delhi on September 23, 1715. Four days afterwards Farrukh Siyar visited the mansion of Amir-ul-Umara and the preparations for

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the marriage were entrusted to his elder Brother Qutb-ul-Mulk. Then Indra Kunwar was converted to Muhammadan faith.

Firearms worth rupees one lakh were purchased. Another one lakh rupees was spent on illuminations. Road in front of the Fort (at Agra), now kuown as 'Jamuna Kinara', was illuminated. Earthen lamps were placed on bamboo screens. On 15th Zill Hjja, A.H. 1127 (December 11, 1715 A.D.) Farrukh Siyar went to the residence of Qutb-ul-Mulk. On Thursday the 20th Zill Hijja (December 16, 1715) the ceremony of applying *henna* was carried out. On the 25th Zill Hijja (December 21) at about 9 p.m. Farruk Siyar came out by the Delhi Gate of the Fort palace of Agra. Mirza-Muhammad accompanied the marriage procession up to the *haveli* of Newab Qutb-ul-Mulk. But the crowd assembled there was so much that he could not find space to enter the bride's residence. Fireworks were let off. The bride was given a necklace worth fifty lakh by the bridegroom.

"·····तोरण बाँधियो भंडारी खीवसी री बहू पातसाहजी री आरती की दी ने केसर रो तिलक कियो मोतियां का आखा मेलिया न्हाक खीचियो·····।"

—Quoted from (MS.) *Jodhpur Khyat*, II, p. 165.

Then the marriage rite was performed by the chief Qazi of the Empire, Shariyat Khan. Qutb-ul-Mulk gave one lakh of gold coins as her dowry. Subsequently, a drink made of rose water, sugar and opium was given to the members of bridegroom's party as per Rajput custom. Thus, both 'Hindu and Muhammadan usages' were freely practised during the celebrations. Then, the marriage party returned. Farrukh Siyar entered the Fort by the Lahori Gate (See *Roznamcha*, ff. 77-79; Shiv Das, f. 4 (b) and 5 (u); *Siyar*, I, pp. 75-77; *Jodhpur Khyat*, I, p. 165).

Appendix VII

AURANGZEB'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARWAR AFTER THE DEATH OF MAHARAJA JASWANT SINGH

IT CAN BE ARGUED that Aurangzeb's giving of Tika to Indra Singh was a stop-gap arrangement. In the absence of any male issue of Jaswant Singh, the Emperor chose a candidate who combined in

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himself the credentials of Royal descent and liberalism. The author of *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer* and *Ranthambhor* informs us that the arrangement thus made by him was not approved of by Hadi Rani and other Rathors. As such Indra Singh failed not only to capture and keep under his control Jodhpur, but he also failed to put down the disturbances. Hence, it can be concluded that by giving Tika to Indra Singh Aurangzeb actually wanted to divide the strength of the Rathors who were in rebellion throughout the country.

If Aurangzeb was not interested in the permanent annexation of Marwar as would appear from his previous action of having given Tika to Rao Indra Singh, why was he eager to keep Jaswant Singh's sons under his immediate control and supervision ? Why did he put forth Muhaummadi Raj as the rival candidate of the throne of Jodhpur ?

Appendix VIII

ROLE OF MAHARANA RAJ SINGH IN THE RATHOR WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

MAHARANA RAJ SINGH'S action of offering the Jagir of Kelwa in Mewar to Jaswant Singh's son and successor deserves critical examination. The study of the history of Mewar under Raj Singh reveals that Maharana Raj Singh was not on bad terms with Aurangzeb who not only awarded him mansab, but also returned him a portion of the disputed territory round about Mandal. Still, on the persuation of Durga Dass he gave shelter to the son of Jaswant Singh when Alamgir wanted to capture him. Why did the Maharana choose to offend the Emperor ? Leaving aside the theory of his blood relationship with the mother of Ajit Singh, the Maharana appears to be keen to regain for Mewar the position of preponderance which was eclipsed by the rise and consolidation of Marwar under Mota Raja Udai Singh and his successors. So, when after the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh, Marwar was without a strong leader, the Maharana chose to win over Rathors by his policy of concessions,

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Appendix IX

NOTE ON THE MUGHAL -RAJPUT MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY reveals that with the marriage of Raja Bhar Mal's eldest daughter Harkha[1] (born of Rani Champavati) to Emperor Akbar in 1562 a new chapter opens in the history of Rajputana. As a result of this marriage complete revolution took place in the policy of the Muslim monarchy in India. Henceforth Akbar's policy was to make such unions the starting point of new order of relations in which his Hindu kinsfolk would stand on equal footing.

Hindu and Muslim nobles met together in the imperial court and camp. There was exchange of thought and thus a blending of two cultures (Hindu and Muslim) very rapidly took place, which supplied the moral basis of a common Indian nationality. Moreover, these marriages threw careers (in imperial service) open to talented Rajputs irrespective of creed. Naturally, therefore, the strength and manpower of the Indian Empire was multiplied like anything. This race supplied him with personal guards[2] and royal war-band whose courage and fidelity were proof against every temptation and who would never be his rivals like the men of his own race and creed, the Mirzas and the Uzbeks.

If Emperor Akbar was to secure safe communication with Gujrat and west coast of the defence of the western border of Malwa he was to win over the hostile Rajput Chiefs of Rajputana. So, after his marriage with the Amber Princess he succeeded in contracting matrimonial alliances with other Rajput princesses most probably due to the efforts of Raja Bagwant Dass of Amber.

But these marriages were quite different from the one we have heard of during the Turko-Afghan rule. The marriage of Uchh princess

1. Dr. H. C. Tikkiwal's Ph. D. thesis entitled 'Jaipur and Later Mughals' (MS.). She was married to Akbar on the 6th of February 1562 at Sambhar amidst proper festivity.
2. Akbar owed his life more than once to the loyalty of the house of Amber. In his march against the rebels of the village of Paronkh (in the Mainpuri district) Akbar was saved by Bhagwant Das of Amber (See *AN*, II, pp. 251-54). Similarly in the battle of Sarnal during the Gujrat campaign of 1572 the same unfailing Kachhwa support was given to him,

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with Shihabuddin Ghori in 1176 and that of Bhatti princess to Rajab[1] (Father of Firoz Tughluq) were forced marriages in which the girl was lost to her father's family ; her Hindu kinsmen ceased to have even communication with her. But in the system of matrimonial relationship followed by Akbar and his successors the Hindu kinsfolk of their Rajput wives were given equal treatment. Similarly these princesses after having been admitted to Islam were even allowed freedom and worship of the Hindu Deities as would appear from the inspection of buildings of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri then occupied by these ladies. Indra Kunwar, widow of Emperor Farrukhsiyar, was allowed to renounce Islam and return to her[2] motherland along with her father Maharaja Ajit Singh. Unlike other Rajput wives of the Mughal Emperors who were buried in Muslim cemetries, she died at Jodhpur as Hindu and was cremated according to Hindu customs.[3] Moreover, the Rajput Rajahs who gave their daughters in marriage were equally benefitted as has been pointed out elsewhere in the main text of this book. So, it is neither desirable nor justified to criticise on sentimental grounds only the much-talked of Mughal-Rajput matrimonial alliances.

1. *Ferishta*, I, p. 56 and Afif, p. 37. On the Contrary Amber Princes, Bai Harkha, was even allowed by her husband Akbar to pay condolence visit when her brother Bhupat died (*vide*, *AN*, III, p. 34).
2. Khafi Khan, E & D, VII, p. 483 (Kitab Mahal).
3. *vide*, *Khyats* of Marwar.

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Bibliography

A. Primary Sources

(a) Persian Works

1. *Baburnama* (Persian MS., Saraswati Bhawan MS. Library, Udaipur), translated into English by Beveridge. Volume II has been used. It gives information about the movements of Rana Sanga on the eve of the battle of Khanua. The account of the battle of Khanua has been taken from the Memoirs of Babur.

2. *Tazkirat-ul-Waqiat* by Jauhar, translated into English by Charles Stewart. Saraswati Bhawan MS. Library, Udaipur, also possesses a copy of Jauhar's MS. This copy mentions that during the retreat of Humayun from Kul-i-Jogi to Umarkot, the Emperor was put to trouble by Maldeo, son of Rawal Lun Karan of Jaisalmer and not by Maldeo, the ruler of Jodhpur.

3. *Humayunnama* by Gulbadan Begam (translated into English by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge) is an eye-witness account of most of the events narrated by her. Her work is the only authority which gives information about the receipt of a letter from Jodhpur written by one of the former librarians of Emperor Humayun.

4. *Tarikh-i-Sind* (MS., S. B. L., Udaipur) by Md. Masum (also known as *Tarikh-i-Masumi*) is history of the Afghan dynasty of Sind. The MS. under reference mentions receipt of Maldeo's letter by the fugitive Mughal Emperor. Dates of Humayun's march from Sind to Marwar and back have been given in this work. Thus, it has proved of great utility for the present thesis.

5. *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* by Abbas Sarwani (MS., S.B.L., Udaipur) gives valuable information about Sher Shah's invasion of Marwar. It has been partly translated by Elliot in Vol. IV. Its English translation has also been used with profit.

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6. *Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl, translated into English by Beveridge in three volumes, is the primary authority on the events that passed in Marwar during the reign of Akbar. Persian text of *Akbarnama* published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, has also been used along with the English translation. Siege of Merta and Jodhpur, Akbar's visit to Nagore in the year 1570 and the account of the various expeditions sent against Rao Chandrasen have been taken from *Akbarnama.* Abul Fazl was very particular about the dates. Hence, dates given by him have been accepted.

7. *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, Vol. II. English translation by Jarrett. Second edition of the work corrected and further annotated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar has been used. Maps have been prepared with the help of this work which the author has given in this work. It indicates how Akbar after conquering the State of Jodhpur made it a Sarkar of Mughal Empire and how the neighbouring territory of Marwar was divided into parganas.

8. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad was published from Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. Late B.N. De published its English translation in three volumes. The English translation has been used ; wherever necessary, the printed Persian text has also been used. For example, Sher Shah's march up to Nagore has been taken from the Persian text. *Tabaqat* is the history of India from the early Mohammadan invasion to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign. Nizam-ud-din's account of Akbar's reign has been found more useful as mostly it is based on the author's personal observations or on the information obtained by him from the first-hand sources. Dowson was correct when he called *Tabaqat* as a 'contemporary history of very high authority.'

9. *The Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandhari* is a portion of the work which deals with Akbar's reign. Arif's account begins with Akbar's birth and closes with the account of a great fire at Sikri in 1579-80. The MS. under reference is in Rampur Library. Account of the siege of Siwana by Akbar's Mir Bakhshi Shah Nawaz Khan has been taken from this work.

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10. *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh* by Abdul Qadir Badaoni, translated into English by Lowe and Ranking, is a well-known general history of India which begins with the Ghaznavides and ends with the year 1596. The information contained in this work regarding the additional details of the battle of Samel has been of great value in this work.

11. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* by Md. Hindu Qasim Beg Ferishta, translated into English by Briggs in four volumes, has been used as a corroborative source in the first four chapters. Ferishta wrote his *Tarikh* in or about the year 1612 during the reign of Emperor Jahangir.

12. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* by Emperor Jahangir, translated into English by Beveridge and Rogers in two volumes, has been used. This work has given very useful and important information about Raja Sur Singh and Raja Gaj Singh.

13. *Jahangirnama* by Kamgar Hussain (Muslim University, Aligarh, MS.) gives information about Jodh Bai and her marriage with *Shahzada* Salim. According to this work, the marriage was performed at the residence of Mota Raja.

14. *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri,* by Motamid Khan (Persian text published by Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow), is a primary authority for the entire reign of Jahangir. As such the information supplied by this work about Mota Raja Udai Singh and his son and successor Sur Singh has been utilised with profit in the present work. Moreover, it has been used as a corroborative source for the reigns of Akbar and Humayun.

15. *Dhakhirat-ul-Khawanin* by Shikh Farid Bhakkari (Persian text edited by Dr. Sayed Moinul Haq and published by Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi, 1961).

'It is an extremely rare but highly useful work on Mughal history.' It was compiled in A.H. 1060-61 (1649-50). 'It is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobility. *Maathir-ul-Umara* by Shah Nawaz Khan and *Tazkirat-ul-Umara* by Kewal Ram were compiled more than a hundred years after this work. Thus, it must have been a source of *Maathir-ul-Umara.*' This work gives information about Mota Raja Udai Singh and marriage of his daughter Jodh Bai with Prince Salim and the in-

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formation is also supplied by the work about Raja Sur Singh alias Suraj Singh Rathor and his son and successor Raja Gaj Singh. Thus it is a pioneer work in the field of biographical literature on Mughal nobility.

16. *Padshahnama* by Muhammad Amin Qazvini (Patna MS.) is an official history of Shah Jahan's reign written in the twentieth regnal year of his reign. It contains an account of the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign. In the present work, however, it has been used only as a corroborative source.

17. *Padshahnama* by Abdul Hamid Lahori (*Bibliotheca Indica*) is an official history of the first twenty years of Shah Jahan's reign. On the basis of information supplied by Lahori various events of the political career of Jaswant Singh have been described in which the Maharaja participated.

18. *Padshahnama* by Waris (transcript for Sarkar's copy in Sitamau collection) is a history of Shah Jahan's reign from 1647 to 1657. The information given by Waris about Jaswant Singh has proved of immense value in filling up the gaps of his political career as an important grandee of the Mughal Empire.

19. *Amal-i-Salih* by Md. Salih Kambu (Persian *Bibliotheca Indica*) is a history of Emperor Shah Jahan from his birth to his death. Only a few passages have been translated in Elliot & Dowson, VII, pp. 124-32. Promotions of the rulers of Marwar (Gaj Singh and Jaswant Singh) and the grant of *Khilats* etc. on various occasions to them have been taken from this work.

20. *Alamgirnama* by Mirza Muhammad Kazim (Persian text published in *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1868) is an official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. It gives useful information about the battles of Dharmat, Khajwa and Deorai with which Jaswant Singh was directly or indirectly concerned.

21. *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* of Inayat Ullah (MS. Sitamau Collection). It is a precious collection of letters dictated by the Emperor Aurangzeb himself to his Secretary, Inayat Ullah, mostly during the last decades of his reign. The levy of Jizya, forbidding the appointment of Hindus as Subahdars and faujdars and

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references to Rathor upsprings in Marwar after the death of Jaswant Singh have been described in these letters.

22. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, edited by Sadiq Muttalibi (MS., Sitamau Collection), contains letters of Aurangzeb and his son Prince Akbar written during the reigns of Emperor Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Letters written by Aurangzeb during his own reign give important information about the Rajput War of Independence (1679-1707).

23. *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* by Ishwar Das Nagar (MS., Sitamau Collection). A history of the reign of Aurangzeb up to about 1698. Ishwar Das was an Amin of Jodhpur for about six years. He was the main person who brought about truce between the Rathors and the Mughal Emperor. He persuaded Durga Das to surrender Prince Akbar's daughter Saif-un-nis-a Begum to her grandfather. Thus his work is a contemporary account of the reign of Aurangzeb from the well-known war of succession till 1698. The importance of the work lies in the fact that it was written by a Hindu who developed friendly relations with the Rathors. Therefore to some extent *Fatuhat* reflects the Rajput point of view as well.

24. *Nushka-i-Dilkash* by Bhimsen (Sitamau Collection) is a history relating chiefly to the military transactions in the Deccan. As such, it supplies additional information about Jaswant's campaign against Shivaji. It is the only work which informs that the *gadi* of Marwar was offered to Ajit Singh by the Emperor Aurangzeb even in the year 1679 on the condition of Ajit's turning a Muslim. Bhimsen was in the service of Maharaja Jaswant Singh for some time. Hence, his account is based on better personal knowledge and hence more reliable.

25. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* by Saqi Mustad Khan, translated into English by Sir Jadunath Sarkar (1947), is a complete history of the reign of Aurangzeb. Mustad Khan has described many events on the basis of his personal knowledge. No doubt 'in many places it reads like a dry list of official postings and promotions', but it has helped a lot in preparing a connected account of the political history of

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Marwar during the period 1657-1707. The details given by Mustad Khan about Aurangzeb's occupation of Jodhpur and the destructive measures adopted by him thereafter have proved useful.

26. *Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* by Aqil Khan Razi, partly translated into English by Khan Bahadur Maulvi Hafi Zafar Hasan, who edited the Persian text of the work, is 'an unbiased and unaffected (by any undue influence)' account of the war of succession between the sons of Emperor Shah Jahan. The author was a contemporary writer and therefore collected information from persons who actually participated in the war. His information at many places is based on official records of the Mughal Empire. Hence, the information supplied by Aqil Khan regarding Jaswant Singh's role in the battle of Dharmat, Khajwa and Deoral has been used with profit in the work.

27. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* by Ali Muhammad Khan (Persian text edited by Sayad Nawab Ali and published by Gaikwad Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1928) is a useful work for the history of Gujrat as a province of the Mughal Empire. For the half century following the death of Aurangzeb, *Mirat* gives full history of the Civil war, among the generals. The information supplied by this work about the activities of Jaswant Singh, Ajit Singh and Abhai Singh as Subahdars of Gujrat has been found valuable.

28. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* by Sikandar-bin Ahmad, translated into English by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi, is an important source which deals with the history of Gujrat in relation to the earlier Mughal Emperors. It was completed in or about the year 1612. The account given by Sikandar of Rana Sanga's war against Idar has been used with profit.

29. *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai* (MS., Sitamau Collection, transcript) by Mir Masum informs us that on the eve of Jaswant Singh's departure for Ujjain in December 1657, Shah Jahan had instructed him to spare the lives of his younger sons (Aurangzeb and Murad) by persuading them to return to their respective provinces. Further, the author informs us that, before the commencement of the battle, Aurangzeb sent

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his son to persuade Jaswant Singh to let him go to Agra and the Maharaja also sent his vakil to dissuade Aurangzeb from proceeding towards Agra. Mir Masum also informs us that Jaswant Singh after having been severely wounded in the battlefield was forcibly removed by his men.

30. *Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer and Ranthambhor* (transcript copy of Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, MS. in Sitamau collection) is an undated MS. and the name of the author has also not been mentioned anywhere in the text. But, from the manner in which the various events have been described, it appears that the author was *Waqya-nawis* either in the Sarkar of Ranthambhor or Ajmer. Hence, he has given detailed information about the Rathor upsprings in Marwar after Ajit's escape from Delhi. Moreover, he has described Ajit's miraculous escape from Delhi in full detail on the basis of information obtained from Rathor Sardars who were a party to it. Thus, the useful and important information supplied by this work has been used with profit for the first time in this work. But unfortunately, it gives information for a couple of years only, i.e, from 1678 to 1680.

31. *Bahadurshahnama* by Niamat Khan (MS.) is the history of the first two years of the reign of Emperor Bahadur Shah (Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau). Very useful for the early incursions of Bahadur Shah in Marwar.

32. *Roznamcha* by Mirza Mohammad (MS., Sitamau collection) is also known as *Ibratnama*. It is a history of the reigns of the first three successors of Aurangzeb. The author was a contemporary of Emperor Farrukh Siyar and hence he has given an eye-witness account of Farrukh Siyar's marriage with Indra Kunwar.

33. *Munawwar-i-Kalam* by Shiv Das (photostat copy in Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau) is a historical narrative of the reign of Farrukh Siyar and the first four years of Mohammad Shah's reign and details of Bai Indra Kunwar's marriage with Emperor Farrukh Siyar have been taken from this work.

34. *Balmukundnama* by Mehta Balmukund (published by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh). I have, however, used its English translation still in manuscript with Dr.

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Satish Chandra, Reader in History, Muslim University, Aligarh. It is a very small MS. containing 25 folios and 34 letters. These letters were written on behalf of Sayyid Abdullah Khan Qutab-ul-Mulk by his *munshi*, Mehta Balmukand, during the period immediately following the deposition of Farrukh Siyar. Letters Nos. 5, 6, 12, 21, 31 and 34 addressed to Ajit Singh have been found useful for the present work.

35. *Ajaib-ul-Afaq* (photostat, Sitamau collection and Muslim University, Aligarh). It is a collection of letters written to Chhabila Ram Nagar, during the reigns of Farrukh Siyar and Md. Shah. Letter No. 130 (ff. 56b and 57a) written by Maharaja Ajit Singh to Chhabila Ram after the deposition of Emperor Farrukh Siyar gives details of the situation in Agra where an effort was made by the opposition party in favour of Akbar's son Nekusiyar.

36. *Maathir-ul-Umara* by Shah Nawaz Khan, translated into English in two Volumes by H. Beveridge and Dr. Baini Prasad, is a biographical dictionary of the Mughal nobility from the days of Babur to the eighth decade of the 18th century. As such it has been very useful for the accounts of Mota Raja Udai Singh, Sur Singh, Gaj Singh, Jaswant Singh, Ajit Singh and Abhai Singh.

37. *Siyar-ul-Mutakherine* by Ghulam Hussain, translated into English by Nota Manus, is a history of India from A.H. 1118 to 1194 (1706-1780). The writer was, in the words of his translator, "both an actor and a spectator." The author has given very few dates. It gives a good deal of information about the murder of Farrukh Siyar.

38. *Tarikh-i-Palanpur* by Ghulam Miyan is a history of the State of Palanpur which was published in two volumes in October 1910, during the reign of Nawab Sir Sher Muhammad Khan. Details of the occupation and evacuation of Jalor and Sanchor by the rulers of Marwar have been based on this work.

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(b) CONTEMPORARY OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE MUGHAL COURT

1. *Akhabarat-i-Darbar-i-Maula* are the official records of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb from the calender year 1666 to that of his successors Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar. In them, the short regimes of the first three successors of Aurangzeb have been very well represented. *Akhabarats* being the daily diary of the Imperial Court give valuable informations. These *Akhabarats* are in the possession of Royal Asiatic Society of London and the Archives Office of the Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur. Maharajkumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinh has not only collected copies of the *Akhabarats* from both these places for his personal collection, Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau, but he has also arranged these important works chronologically. Hence, it has become almost an easy work for the researchers to determine the exact date and reign of the particular *Akhabarat*. I have used the copies of these *Akhabarats*, to a great extent in Chapters VI & VII, from the Sitamau Collection.
2. The Firmans addressed to the Rulers of Marwar by their contemporary Mughal Emperors are in the Archives Office, Bikaner. Twenty firmans belonging to the period covered in this work have been used with profit.
3. Vakil Reports of former Jaipur State records (now a part of Archival Records of Government Archives Office, Bikaner) have proved of much utility for the later half of Ajit Singh's reign. The Vakils of the Rulers of Amber living in the Mughal court used to send informations to their Rajas and these messages are known to us as 'Vakil Reports'. Such reports are available in the Rajasthan Archives Office from 1657 down to the deposition of Emperor Farrukh Siyar (1719). Thus, on the basis of the Vakil Reports relations of Sawai Jai Singh and Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Ajit Singh have been traced.

(c) ARCHIVAL RECORDS IN RAJASTHANI

In the former State of Marwar there was a separate department known as the *Dastari* Records Office. The deposited records were preserved in *Bahis* (rolled-registers). These *Bahis*

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were grouped in sections according to the subject-matter contained in the *Bahi*. The number of folio in each *Bahi* vary between 150 and 500, though the size is uniform (28"X 8" approximately). The *Bahis* are bound in leather or cloth with a long string to tie the double roll formed by the body of the *Bahis*. Thus, the records in the *Dastari* office known as District Archives Office, Jodhpur, are kept in good state of preservation.

The language of the *Bahis* is Marwari and the script used can be described as Mahajani with a peculiar bend of letters commonly used in Marwar. These *Bahis* are of immense value for the students of the history of Marwar. The matter contained in them can be utilised as a corroborative source even for the history of India following the death of Aurangzeb.

In the present work following *Bahis* have proved of immense utility.

(*a*) *Ohda Bahis* which are seven in number and record in verbatim the orders of the rulers of Jodhpur passed between v.s. 1765-1976. They also deal with complaints regarding corrupt officers of the State.

(*b*) *Bayava Bahis* are nine in all. *Bayava Bahi* No. 1 gives useful information about the marriage of Bai Suraj Kunwar with Sawai Raja Jai Singh. (For details see Dr. G.N. Sharma's article 'Some Aspects of Society and Culture of Rajasthan as revealed from the Bayava Bahi of *Dastri* Record, Jodhpur' published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXIV, Part 1).

(*c*) *Kharitas* (Portfolio files). Bastas are 31 in number. These Bastas preserve original *Kharitas* (i.e., letters written by the then Rajput Rajas of other States to the Maharajas of Jodhpur), *rukkas* (drafts) and *taharirs* (notes). The script used in the various *Kharitas* is mostly Mahajani. The letters written are seldom signed and full stops have not been used. These letters not only give information about the political history of the period under review but also reveal the growing influence of Persian on Rajasthani. These letters are also useful for the study of different mannerisms and modes of address.

(*d*) *Khyats*. Almost every Rajput State during the Medieval period of Indian history maintained chroniclers who took down events as they occured. The chronicles thus handed down to posterity are known as *Khyats*. Most of the *khyats* of Marwar were

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written during the 17th and 18th centuries. So far as the chronicles of Marwar are concerned, it may be mentioned that as many as six *khyats* have been used in this work. All of these *khyats* are in Rajasthani language written in Nagari script. They are all in manuscripts. Shri Jin Vijay Muni, Director, Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, has taken pains to collect all available and known *khyats* of Marwar at one place. Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau, however possesses transcript copies of the following six well-known *khyats* which Maharajkumar Sahib obtained from late Dr. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha's collection, nearly a quarter of a century back.

(1) *Mundinar Thikaha-ki-khyat* is the oldest *khyat* which is said to have been written during the last years of Gaj Singh's reign. The original of this *khyat* could not be consulted. But its copy obtained by Munshi Devi Prasad of Jodhpur nearly 100 years back has been consulted which is now available in the Archives Office at Bikaner. However, the copy of the *khyat* under reference gives information up to the year 1680.

(2) Nensi's *Khyat*. Much has been said about this *khyat* by the two great modern writers, Dr. K. R. Qanungo and Principal S. R. Sharma (See *Bibliography of Mughal India* by S. R. Sharma, pp. 149-50 and *Studies in Rajput History* by Dr. K. R. Qanungo, pp. 80 ff.).

Nensi wrote two indispensable books during the reign of Maharaja Jaswant Singh I of Marwar. His first and well-known work, *Khyat*, has been published more than once. It is in two volumes. Its transcript copy is available in Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau. Nensi's *Khyat* was first edited by Ram Karan Asopa. But the learned historian could not publish its second volume. Shri Ram Narain Duggar translated a part of the whole *khyat* and its Hindi translation was published by Nagari Pracharini Sabha. Recently, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute has published the original in three volumes. The transcript copy of this *khyat* as well as the three published texts have been consulted for this work. But the last two have been used with profit. The other book of Nensi entitled 'District Gazetteer of Marwar' (*Gānvā ri khyāt*) is a rare work. Thus, like Abul Fazl's *Akbarnama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Nensi has also left two very important works on the history of Marwar.

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(3) *Jodhpur Rajya ki Khyat* in two volumes gives information right from the origin of the Rathors down to the period of our study. Its transcript copy in Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau, has been consulted. Account of the battle of Samel has particularly been obtained with profit from this *khyat*.

(4) *Bankidass Khyat* has now been published by Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur. The published text of the work has been used.

(5) *Kaviraja Khyat* in two volumes was also written during the last years of Jaswant Singh. The transcript copy of this *khyat*, available in Sitamau Library which Maharajkumar Sahib obtained from the then Jodhpur State Archives Department, has been consulted for this work. It is a regular *khyat* which gives an account of the Rathors of Marwar from the very beginning to the reign of Jaswant Singh, i.e., up to 1678.

(6) *Dayal Das Khyat* in two volumes (transcript of G. H. Ojha's copy available in Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau) contains the history of Rathor families of Jodhpur and Bikaner. Volume I of this work deals with Jodhpur. It contains history of early settlement of the Rathors in Marwar up to the death of Rao Jodha. But it has been used only as a corroborative source in the present research.

(e) *Sanad* and *Parwana Bahis* also contain matters of historical interest. The most important *Bahi* of the Office is the *Hath Bahi* No. 4, which contains references to early political history of Marwar from Rao Siha to Maharaja Jaswant Singh.

(d) Documents in the Possession of Private Persons

(1) Brij Lal Pancholy MS. (transcript copy available in Shri Raghuvir Library, Sitamau) is a curious MS. without a beginning and without a proper end. Thus neither the name of the scribe nor that of the author is given. It is in the possession of Thakur Kesari Singhji of Khivwsar.

This MS. gives day to day information about Maharaja Jaswant Singh from 1657 to 1678. This is the only MS. which gives route of Jaswant Singh from Agra to Dharmat and from Dharmat to Jodhpur. Dates given by the author

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are accurate. From the account it appears that its writer was in the camp of Maharaja Jaswant Singh and therefore he has described every event with minute detail. Hence, there is scope to believe that the writer was an eye-witness to each and every event he has described.

The language used in the MS. is Marwari and the script is Mahajani. There are in all 174 folios in the MS.

(2) *Bahi* (MS.) in the possession of Master Sita Ram Lalas of Jodhpur. This is an old *Bahi* which I believe must be a copy of some *Hath Bahi* or *Haqiqat Bahi* now extinct. Jodhpur was under the direct control of Aurangzeb from 1678 to 1707. So most of the literature was destroyed during the period of turmoil. It is possible that some *mutasaddis*, etc. who used to keep rough copy of the *Bahis* must have removed a few *Bahis* from the Fort palace. Thus the material was saved from being destroyed. The *Bahi* under reference also appears to be one of such *Bahis*. It gives history of the early settlement of Rathors in Marwar down to the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. But it could be used only for Chapter I because afterwards access to it was refused.

(e) Other Rajasthani MSS.

(1) *Raj Vilas* by Man Kavi (S.B.L., Udaipur) was composed during the reign of Maharana Raj Singh. It gives information about Rathor-Sisodiya alliance against the Emperor Aurangzeb. It is the only MS. which informs us that the boy-prince Ajit was given Kelwa in *jagir* by the Maharana in 1679.

(2) *Suraj Prakash* by Karni Dan (MS., Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur) was composed during the reign of Ajit's successor Maharaja Abhai Singh. Ajit Singh's political activities and the various campaigns of Abhai Singh have been adequately dealt with in this work.

(3) *Raj Rupak* by Vir Bhan was also composed during the reign of Maharaja Abhai Singh. This work has been published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha. Its published text, edited by Pandit Ram Karan, has been used.

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(4) *Rawal Rajaji ki Vat* (MS., S. B. L., Udaipur) gives information about Rana Pratap. It has been used as a corroborative source while comparing the days of vicissitudes of Rao Chandrasen and Rana Pratap.

(5) *Sisod Vanshavali* and *Suryavansh* (both MSS., S. B. L., Udaipur) have been used as corroborative sources for tracing the political history of Mewar in relation to Marwar.

(f) SANSKRIT SOURCES

(1) *Ajitodaya* by Bhatt Jagjivan (MS., Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur) is in Sanskrit. It was composed during the reign of Maharaja Ajit Singh himself by his court poet (see *Ajitodaya* and *Glimpses of Society and Culture in Rajasthan* by Dr. G. N. Sharma).

(2) *Ajitcharitra* by Bal Krishan (MS., Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur) is also in Sanskrit, and was composed during the reign of Maharaja Ajit Singh. It gives a good deal of information about Durga Das Rathor.

(3) *Abhaivilas* (Sanskrit MS.) by Bhatt Jagjivan (Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur) was composed during the reign of Abhai Singh. It has proved of great utility for the political history of Abhai Singh.

(4) *Raj Ratnakar* (Sanskrit MS.) by Sadashiv gives information about the campaigns of Emperor Aurangzeb in Mewar during the Rajput war of Independence. The Sisodiyas and the Rathors joined hands in the war against the Mughals and fought for independence of their respective countries. Its transcript copy is in the possession of Dr. G. N. Sharma.

B. Secondary Sources

(a) PUBLISHED WORKS IN HINDI AND RAJASTHANI

1. Asha Ram Singh Rathor
   Historical mis-statements about Rajputs (1935). The only known copy of this book is available with Shri Bhanwar Lal Saraf of Jodhpur.

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2. Bisheshwar Nath Reu
Marwar-ka-Itihas, Vol. I & II. For the present work Volume I has been found useful.

3. Chatur Singh
Chaturkulcharitra, Vol. I (1902).

4. Devi Prasad
Baburnama, Humayunnama, Akbarnama, Jahangirnama, Shahjahannama, Aurangzebnama, Hindi translations of these have been used.

5. Gauri Shankar Hirachand Ojha
Jodhpur Rajya-ka-Itihas, Vols. I & II.

6. Hardayal Singh & Munshi Devi Prasad
First Administration Report of Marwar for the year 1885. A copy of this work is available in the Archives Office, Jodhpur.

7. Ram Karan
Raj Rupak edited by Ram Karan and published by Nagari Pracharini Sabha.

8. Ram Karan Asopa
Marwar-ka-Mool Itihas

9. Raghuvir Singh, Maharajkumar of Sitamau
(i) *Ratlam-ka-Pratham Itihas*
(ii) *Poorva Adhunik Rajasthan*
(iii) *Bachnika Rathor Ratansinghji-ri-Maheshdasot-ri-Khapiya Jagga-ri-Kahi* edited by Dr. Raghuvir Singh & Pt. Kashi Ram Sharma.

10. Ram Ratan Haldar
Rathod Durga Das

11. Shyamal Das
Vir Vinod

(b) PUBLISHED WORKS IN ENGLISH

12. Abdul Aziz
Mansabdari System of the Mughal Army (1945)

13. A. C. Banerjee
(i) *Medieval Studies*

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(ii) *Rajput Studies* (1944)

14. A. L. Srivastava
    (i) *Sher Shah and His Successors* (1950)
    (ii) *Akbar the Great* (1956)
15. A. B. Pandey
    First Afghan Empire in India (1956)
16. Andrea Butenschan
    The Life of a Mughal Princess (*Jahanara Begum*) (London, 1931).
17. Banarsi Prasad Saxena
    History of Shah Jahan of De hi (1958)
18. Beni Prasad
    History of Jahangir (1940)
19. B. N. Reu
    (i) *Rathod Durga Das* (1948)
    (ii) *Glories and Glorious Rathors* (1943)
    (iii) *History of the Rashtrakutas* (1933)
20. Constable
    Bernier's Travels, translated into English.
21. Dashrath Sharma
    Early Chauhan Dynasties (1959)
22. *Delhi Sultanate*, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1960.
23. Dorn
    History of Afghans
24. Elliot and Dowson
    History of India as told by its Own Historians, Vols. I-VIII (1877).
25. Erskine
    History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Timur, Vol. I & II.
26. Elphinstone
    The History of India, Hindu & Mohammedan Periods (1857).
27. G. N. Sharma.
    Mewar and the Mughal Emperors (1954)

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28. H. C. Ray
The Dynastic History of Northern India (1931)

29. H. B. Sarda
(i) *Maharana Sanga*
(ii) *Maharana Kumbha*
(iii) *Ajmer—Historical and Descriptive*

30. Ibn Hasan
Central Structure of the Mughal Empire

31. Ishwari Prasad
The Life and Times of Humayun (1955)

32. Swami Kannu Pille
Indian Ephemeries, Vols. I & VI.

33. James Tod
Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, Vols. I & II (1920).

34. J. N. Sarkar
(i) *History of Aurangzeb* (Vols. I & II, 1925 ; Vol. III, 1928; Vol. IV, 1919 ; Vol. V, 1952).
(ii) *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vols. I & II, 1949.
(iii) *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign* (1933)
(iv) *Shivaji and His Times*
(v) *Mughal Administration*
(vi) *Anecdotes of Aurangzeb*
(vii) *Military History of India*

35. K. R. Qanungo
(i) *Sher Shah* (1921)
(ii) *Dara Shukoh*
(iii) *Studies in Rajput History* (1960)
(iv) *Historical Essays* (1960)
(v) *History of the Baronical House of Diggi* (unpublished)

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History of the Khiljis

37. Lane Pool
Aurangzeb

38. N. B. Roy
Successors of Sher Shah

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39. P. Saran
(i) *Studies in the Medieval Indian History*
(ii) *Provincial Government of Mughals*

40. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV (1937).

41. Rushbrook Williams
An Empire Builder of the 16th Century

42. Ram Prasad Tripathi
Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire

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History of Kanauj (1959)

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History of the Gahadavala Dynasty (195)

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(i) *Mughal Government and Administration*
(ii) *Maratha History Re-examined*
(iii) *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*
(iv) *Studies in Medieval Indian History*

46. Sardesai
A New History of the Marathas, Vols. I-III.

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Studies in Indo-Muslim History (1939)

48. Satish Chandra
The Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-40)

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Humayun Padshah (1938)

50. V. A. Smith
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51. William Irvine
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Selected Documents of Aurangzeb's Reign. Published

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by the Central Records Office, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad.

(c) JOURNALS

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54. *Proceedings Volumes of Indian Historical Records Commission*
55. *Journals of Royal Asiatic Societies of Londy Bengal and Bombay*
56. *Indian Historical Quarterly*
57. *Epigraphia Indica*
58. *Rajasthan Patrika*
59. *South Patrika*
60. *Maru Patrika*

(d) GAZETTEERS

61. *Bombay Gazetteer*
62. *Marwar Gazetteer*
63. *Rajputana Gazetteer*
64. *Imperial Gazetteer—Provincial Series*

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Abbreviations Explained

Abbas Sarwani	*Tarikh-i-sher Shahi* (MS.) by Abbas Sarwani.
Arif Qandhari	*Tarikh-i-Muhammad Arif Qandhari* (MS.) by Md. Arif Qandhari.
Ajit Charitra	by Balkrishan (MS.).
Alamgirnamah	by Md. Kazim.
Aqil Khan	*Waqiat-i-Alamgiri* by Aqil Khan Razi.
Ajit Singh's *Khyat*	Ajit Singh's *Khyat* in the possession of Bhandari Faujchand.
Ajitodaya	by Bhatt Jagjivan.
Ajit Granth	(MS.).
Administration Report	First Administration Report of Marwar for the year A.D. 1885.
Ain.	*Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazl, translated in English by Balochman, Jarrett and Sarkar.
A.L. Srivastava	*Sher Shah and his Successors* by Dr. A.L. Srivastava.
AN	*Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl, translated in English by Beveridge, 3 Vols.
A.B. Pandey	*First Afghan Empire in India* by Dr. A.B. Pandey.
Arch. Sur. Rep.	*Archaeological Survey Report of India.*
Asopa	*Marwar-ka-Mool Itihas* by Pandit Ram Karan Asopa.
Banerjee	*Medieval Studies* by Dr. A.C. Banerjee.
Beg-lar-nama	by Shah Kamim Khan, translated in English by Elliot & Dowson.
Bahi	An old Bahi (MS.).
Briggs	*History of the Rise of Mohammedan Power in India* by John Briggs.
Bankidass	*Bankidass-ki-Khyat* by Bankidass
Bom. Gaz.	*Bombay Gazetteer* (A.D. 1880).
Beni Prasad	*History of Jahahngir* by Dr. Beni Prasad (1940).

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Banarsi Prasad	*History of Shah Jahan of Delhi* by Dr. Banarsi Prasad (1958).
Bachnika	*Bachnika Rathor Ratan Singhji-ri-Maheshdasot-ri-Khadiya Jagga-ri-kahi*, edited by Pandit Kashi Ram Sharma and Maharajkumar Dr. Raghuvir Sinh.
Bernier	Travels translated in English by Constable.
Bhimsen	*Nushka-i-Dilkasha* (MS.) by Bhimsen.
Chaturkul-Charitra	Vol. I, by Thakur Chatur Singh of Rapheli.
Cambridge History	*Cambridge History of India* (A.D. 1902), Vols. III-IV.
Dayaldas-ki-khyat	*Dayaldas-ki-khyat* (MS.), Vol. I by Dayaldas.
Delhi Sultanate	*The Delhi Sultanate*, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay (1960).
Devi Prasad	*Rao Kalyan Mal-ka-Jivan-Charitra* by Munshi Devi Prasad.
Dorn	*History of the Afghans.*
Dhakhirat-al-khawanin	,, Shaikh Farid Bhakkri.
EI	*pigraphia Indica.*
Elliot	*History of India as told by Its Own Historians* (8 Vols.) by Elliot and Dowson.
Erskine	*History of India under the First two Sovereigns of the House of Timur* (2 Vols.) by William Erskine.
Oit Sangrah	A personal MS. with Dr. G. N. Sharma.
G. N. Sharma	*Mewar and the Mughal Emperors* (1954) by Dr. G. N. Sharma.
Gulbadan	*Humayunnamah* by Gulbadan Begam. Translated in English by A.S. Beveridge.
Gunrupak	MS. by Hem Kavi.
Gunrupakbandh	MS. by Godan Keshavdas.
H. C. Roy	*The Dynastic History of Northern India* by Dr. Hem Chandra Roy (1931).
Imp. Gaz.	*Imperial Gazetteer*, Provincial Series, (1908).
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*

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Ishwari Prasad	*Life and Time of Humayun* by Dr. Ishwari Prasad (1955).
Ishwardas	*Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* (MS.) by Ishwardas Nagar.
Irvine	*Later Mughals* (2 Vols.) by William Irvine.
Jodhpur Khyat	*Jodhpur-Rajya-ki-Khyat* (MS.) (2 Vols.).
JIH	*Journal of Indian History.*
Jaymal Vansh Prakash	Vol. I, by Thakur Gopal Singh (1932).
Jahangirnama	by Kamgar Hussain (MS.).
Kaviraja Khyat	Kaviraja Murari Dan's *Khyat* (2 Vols.) (MS.).
Khazain	*Khazain-ul-Fatuh* by Amir Khusrau (Aligarh, 1954).
Kambu	*Amal-i-Salih* by Kambu, Vols. I-III.
Khafi Khan	*Muntakhabu-l-lubab* by Md. Hashim Khafi Khan.
Lal	*History of the Khiljis* by Dr. K. S. Lal.
Lahori	*Padshahnama* by Abul Hamid Lahori.
Maharajkumar	*Poorva Adhunik Rajasthan* by Dr. Raghuvir Sinhji of Sitamau.
Marwar Gaz.	*Marwar Gazetteer* by C. E. M. Walter.
Mubarak Shahi	*Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi* by Yahya-bin Ahmad Sirhiudi.
Maathir-ul-Umara	by Shah Nawaz Khan, translated in English by Beveridge. Revised Edition (1952).
Mirat-i-Ahmadi	by Ali Md. Khan.
Mirat-i-Sikandari	by Sikandar, translated in English by Fazlullah.
Mundiyar Khyat	*Mundiyar Thikana-ki-Khyat* (MS.).
Maasir-i-Alamgiri	by Saqi Mustad Khan, translated in English by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.
Manucci	*Storia Do Mogor* by Nicolao Manucci (4 Vols.), translated in English by William Irvine.
Mewar-ka-Itihas	*Mewar-ka-Sankshipta Itihas* (MS.).

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Nensi	*Munhot Nensi ki Khyat*, Vols. I & II, translated in Hindi by Ram Narain Duggar.
Nensi (A)	*Munhata Nensi ki Khyat*, Vols. I & II Published by Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.
Ojha	*History of Jodhpur State* by G. H. Ojha, Vols. I & II, 1938.
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*
Pancholy	An old MS. in Rajasthani in the possession of Thakur Kesari Singhji of Khinwasar.
Qanungo	*Sher Shah* by Dr. K. R. Qanungo.
	Dara Shukoh by Dr. K. R. Qanungo.
	Historical Essays by Dr. K. R. Qanungo.
Qazvini	*Padshahnama* (MS.) by Qazvini.
Raj. Gaz.	*Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III-A, by K.D. Erskine (1909).
Reu	*Marwar ka Itihas* by B. N. Reu, Vols. I & II (1938).
Rajratnakar	*Rajratnakar* by Sada Shiva (MS.).
Raghuvir Sinh	*Raisen-ka-Shashak Salhadi-Tanwar* (v.s. 2916).
Rajrupak	Edited by Pandit Ram Karan (v.s. 1998).
Ratan Raso	By Kumbha Karan (Sitamau Collection).
Raj Vilas	MS., by Man Kavi.
Rathod Vanshavali	A MS. of Pustak Prakash, Jodhpur.
Sarda	*Maharana Kumbha* by H. B. Sarda
	Maharana Sanga by H. B. Sarda
	Ajmer—Historical and Descriptive by H. B. Sarda.
Sisod Vanshavali	A MS. of Saraswati Bhawan MSS. Library, Udaipur.
Stewart	*Tez kerat al Vaqiaqat* by Jauhar, translated in English by Stewart.
S. K. Banarjee	*Humayun Badshah*, Vols. I & II, by Dr. K. S. Banarjee.
S. R. Sharma	*Studies in Medieval Indian History* by S.R. Sharma (1956).
	Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors by S. R. Sharma (1940).

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	Maratha History Re-examined by S. R. Sharma.
Suraj Prakash	MS., by Karni Dan.
Sarkar	*History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I & V by the late J. N. Sarkar.
	Fall of Mughal Empire; Vol. I by J. N. Sarkar.
	Studies in the Reign of Aurangzeb by J. N. Sarkar.
	Anecdotes of Aurangzeb by J. N. Sarkar.
	Military History of India by J. N. Sarkar.
Satish Chandra	*Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court (1707-1740)* by Dr. Satish Chandra (1959).
Siyar	*Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* by Ghulam Hussain, Vols. I-II, translated in English by Nota Manus (1902).
Tod	*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Col. James Tod Vol. II (1920).
Tuhfat-ul-Kiram	by Alishar Khan, translated in English by Elliot & Dowson.
Tarikh-i-Palanpur	By Ghulam Miyan, Vols. I & II (1910).
Tabaqat	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, translated in English by B. N. De.
Tuzuk	*Baburnama*, translated in English by Beveridge.
Tuzuk (R & B)	*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vols. I & II, translated in English by Beveridge & Rogers.
Tarikh-i-Sindh	MS., by Mir Masum.
Tripathi	*Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire* by Dr. R. P. Tripathi (1960).
Tarikh-i-Daudi	by Abdullah (Aligarh, 1954).
Vir Vinod	by Kaviraja Shyamal Das.
Waqaya Ranthambhor	*Waqaya Sarkar Ajmer & Ranthambhor.*

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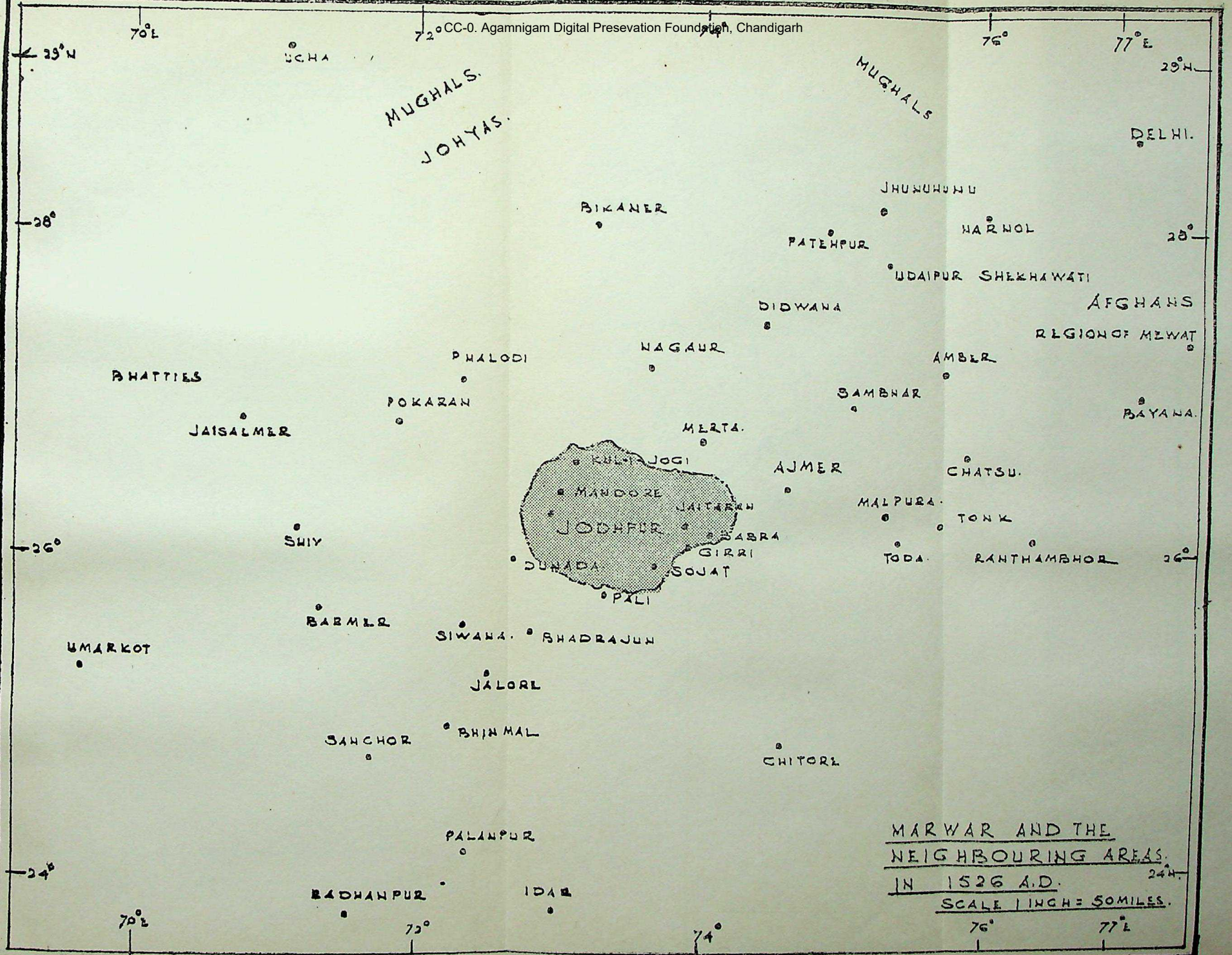

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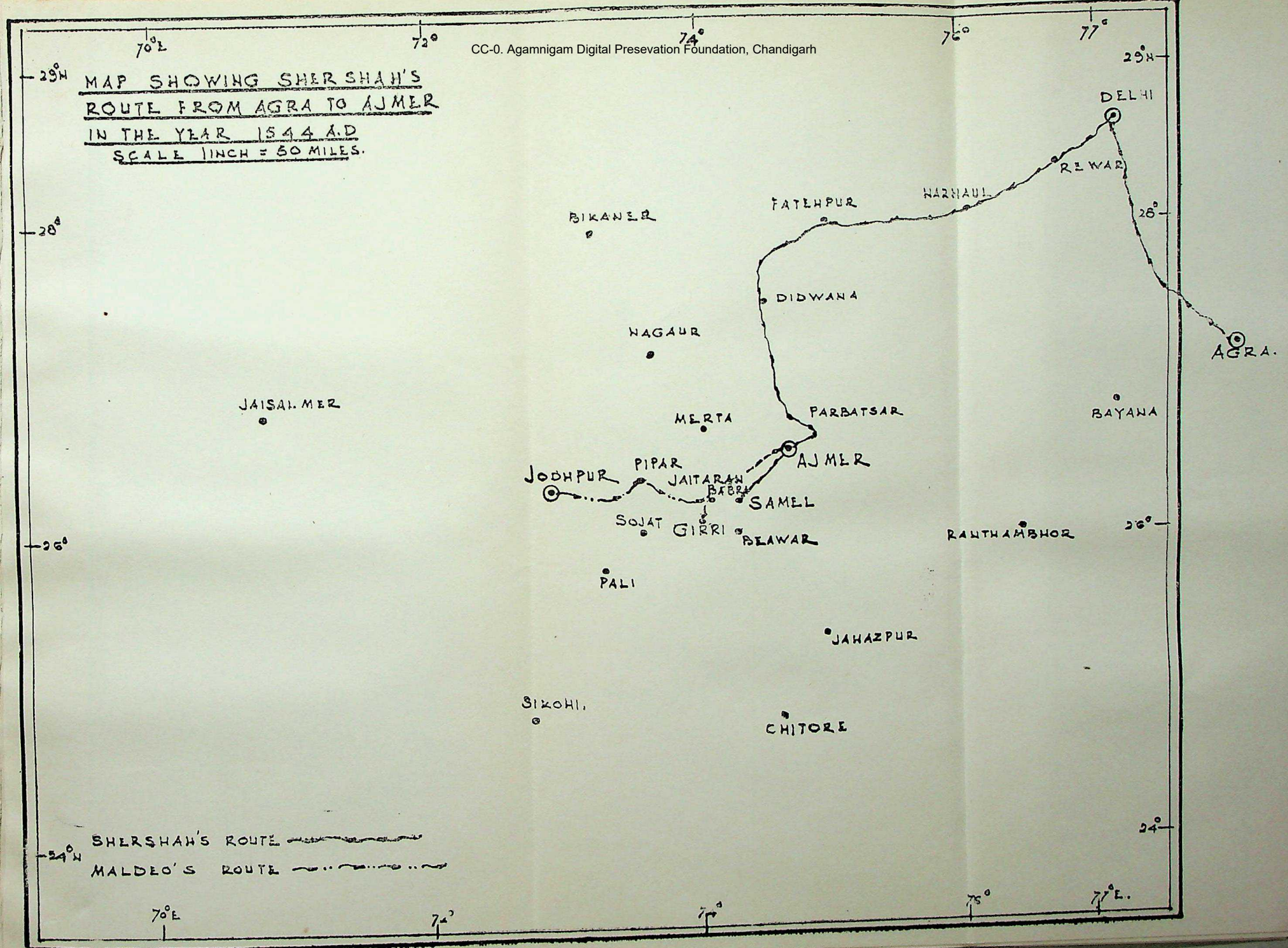
MAP SHOWING SHER SHAH'S ROUTE FROM AGRA TO AJMER IN THE YEAR 1544 A.D

SCALE 1 INCH = 50 MILES.



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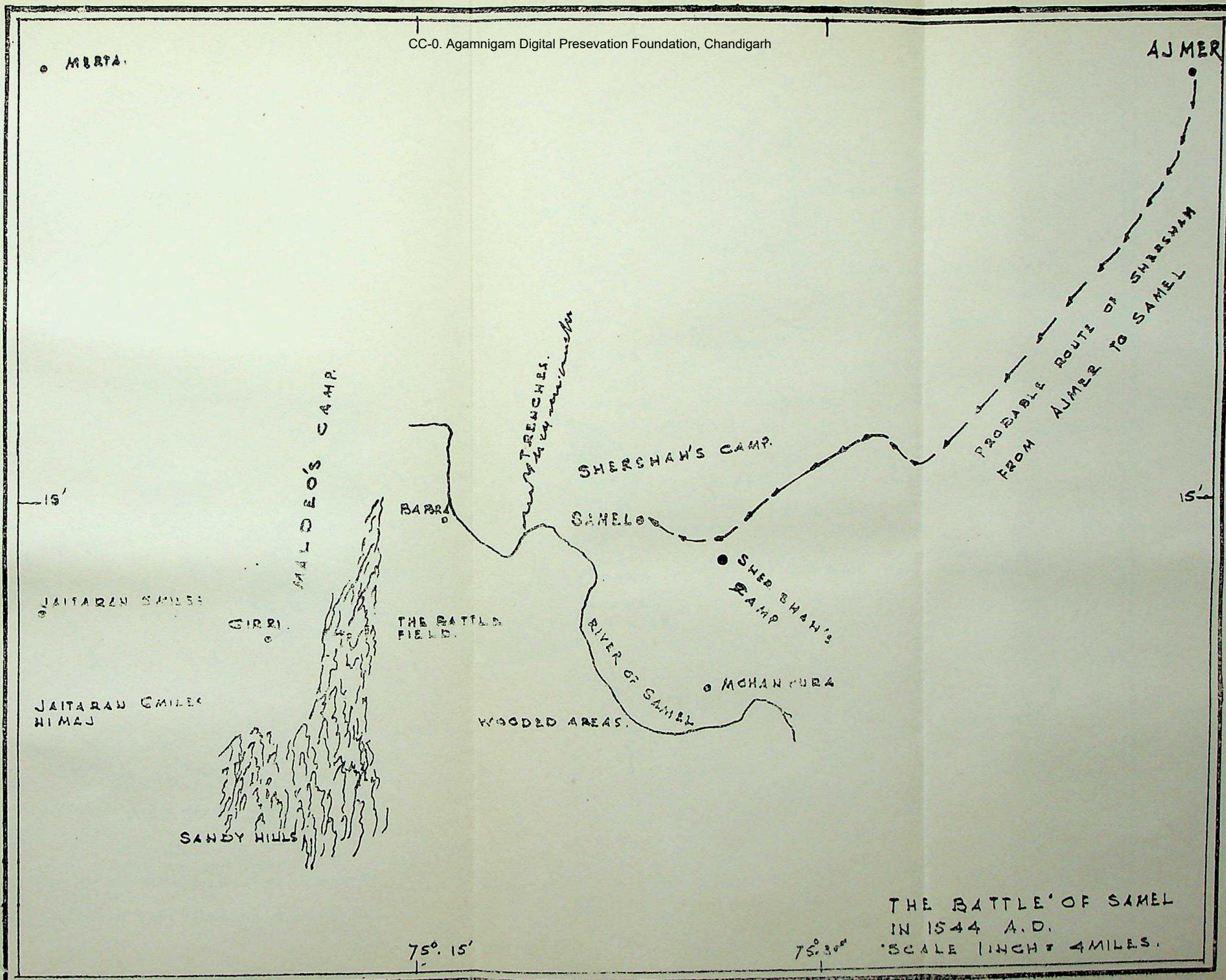

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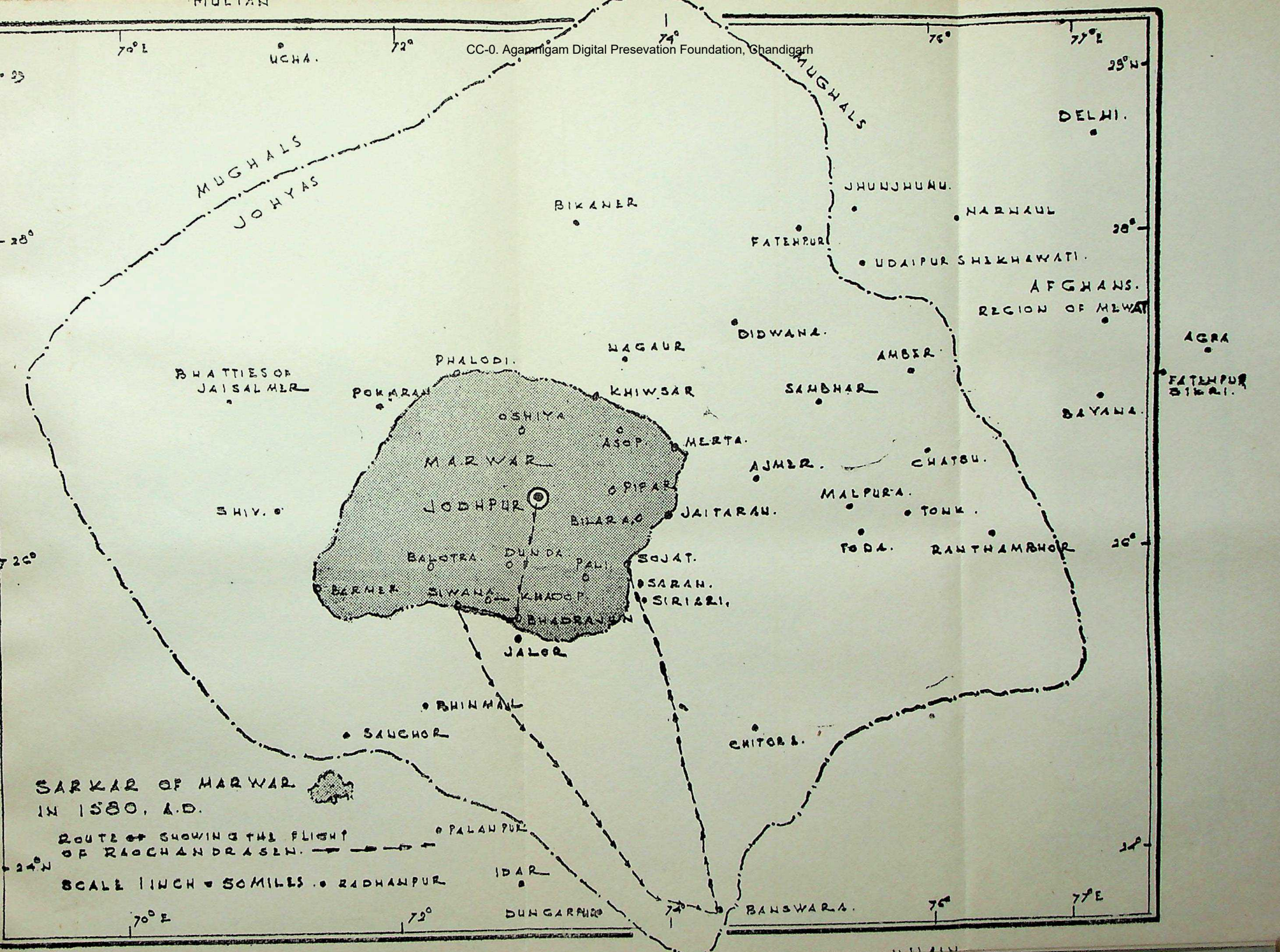

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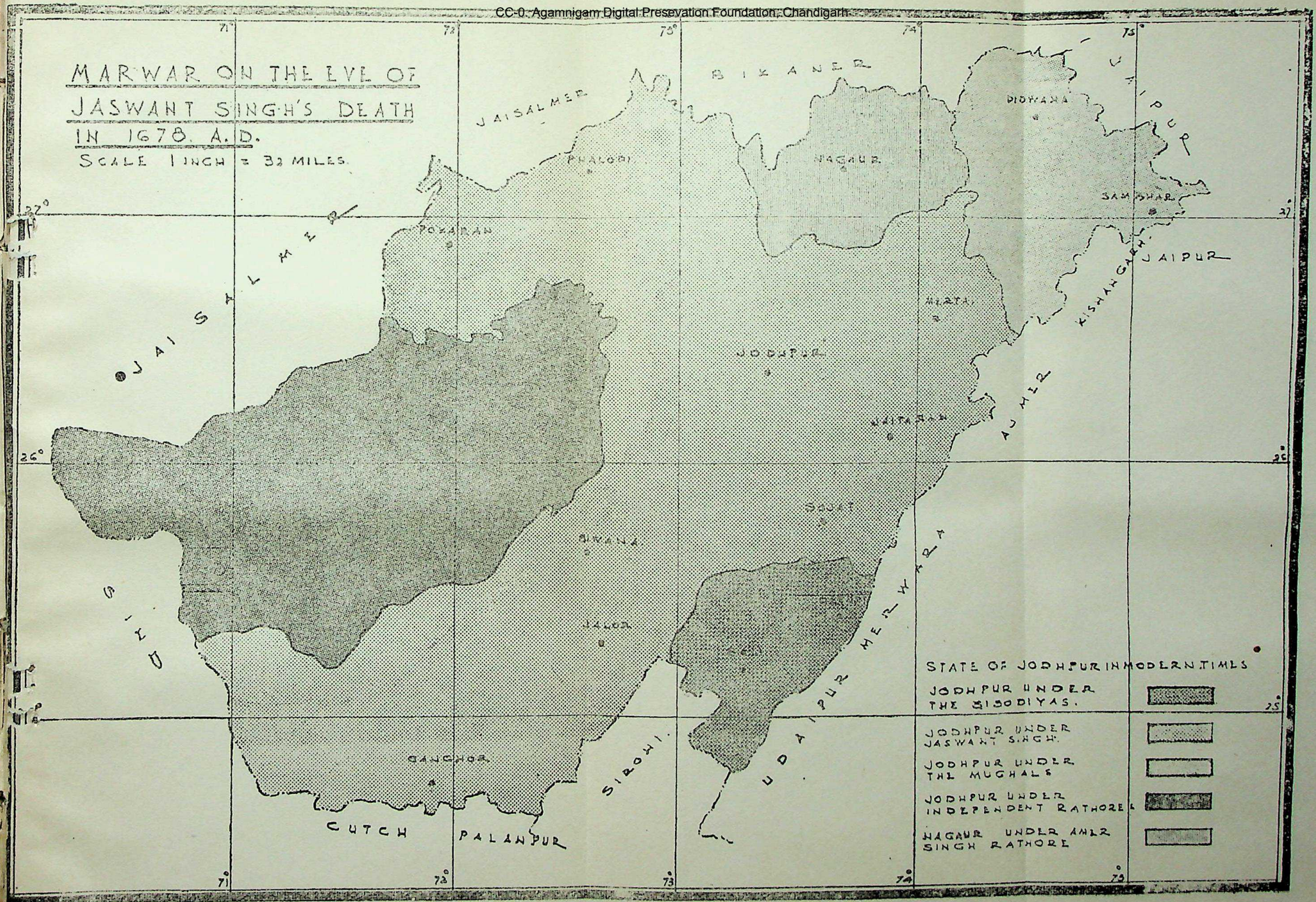

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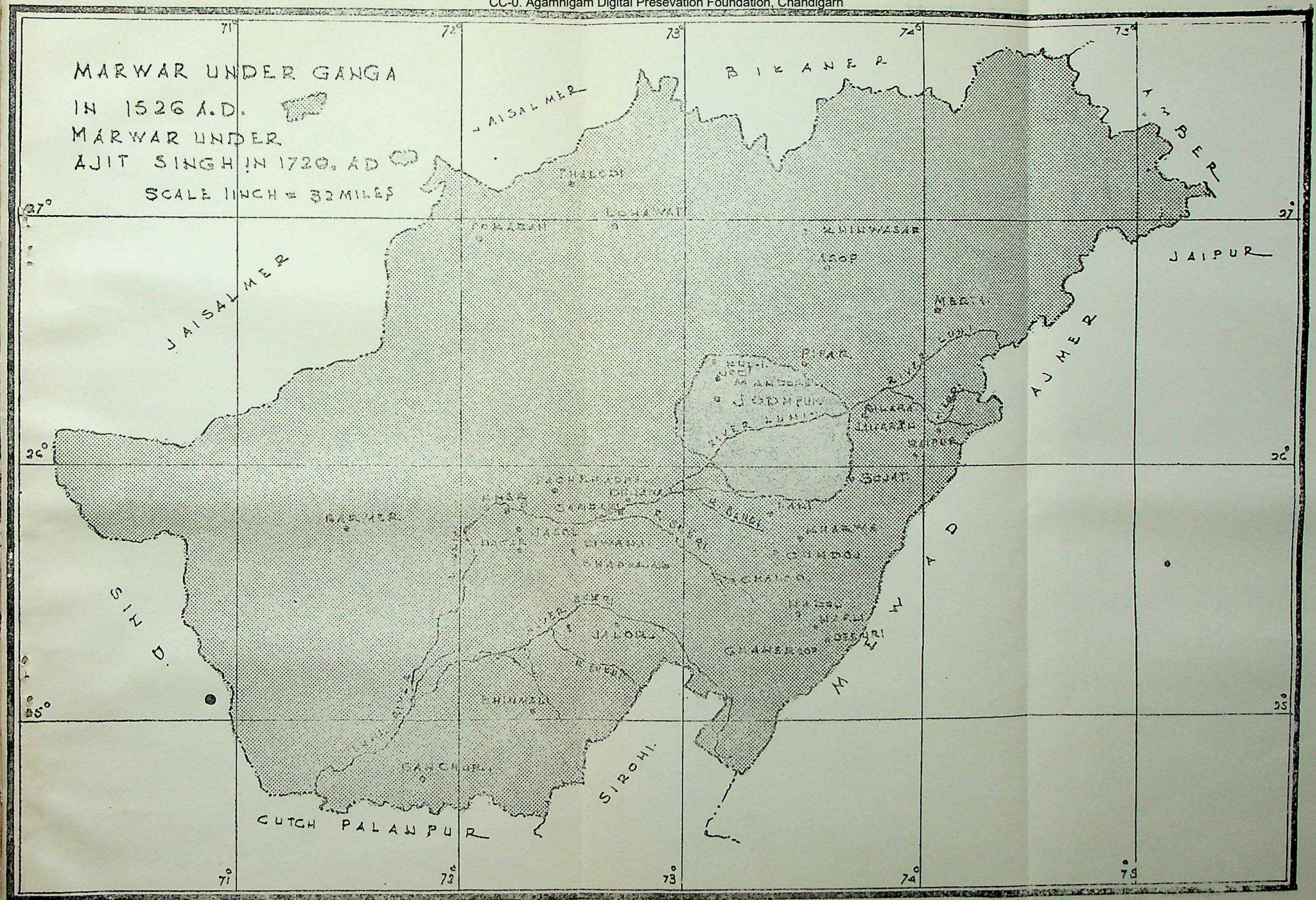

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